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Summer 1987 Number 41 Four Dollars

Ten Years That Shook the World

A Decade of Conservative Victories

William J. Bennett
Alvin H. Bernstein
M. E. Bradford
William F. Buckley, Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza
Terry Eastland
James Frelk
Gordon Jackson
Robert Jastrow
Michael Johns
Michael W. McConnell
Adam Meyerson
Daniel Oliver
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Karl Zinsmeister

10th Anniversary

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Needed: A national energy debate

(The following is excerpted from a talk delivered by Allen E. Murray, chairman and chief executive officer, at Mobil's annual meeting in Seattle May 7.)

There have been many warnings of a U.S. oil crisis to come, including three recent reports by the Department of Energy, the National Petroleum Council, and the American Petroleum Institute. All three included a laundry list of steps the U.S. government could take to avert future shortages and gasoline lines. Some seem reasonable and necessary. Others, like an oil import fee, I consider counterproductive. But I'm not going to debate these possible solutions today.

Instead, I'd simply like to point out some aspects of the topic that are often overlooked. For one thing, the issue is worldwide, and not just a U.S. problem to be solved by U.S. measures. OPEC produces 40% of the Free World's oil every day and the facts of life are such that this nation will never again be able to do without imported oil, some of it from OPEC. The U.S. is not alone in this. Almost every Free World industrialized nation is in the same situation.

Second, I'd like to point out that what's really under discussion is worldwide availability of energy—not just oil. Any energy source will help us. For instance, natural gas can substitute for home heating oil. Nuclear can replace heavy industrial oil for generating electricity. The technology exists to convert coal to gasoline. Canadian gas, French nuclear plants and Wyoming coal can all make our oil outlook more secure.

Third, any rational discussion of our energy future requires a long range commitment. Energy is an enormous business, and it will take years to affect the direction in which we are going. Current proposals, such as the decontrol of natural gas, removal of the windfall profits tax and opening up more areas for exploration have merit—but they are only stopgap measures. While they should be done, they aren't long range solutions. Finally, solving any issue of this magnitude requires trade-offs and a clear agreement on national goals. When we object to the level of oil imports, have we thought through the alternatives? Are we willing to burn more coal? Should we have more nuclear plants? Should we use higher prices to force energy savings? What is it we really want?

These issues are going to affect our entire lives. They will affect our environment, our national security, our federal and local budgets, our trade balance and the quality of our lives for generations to come.

We need a national debate. A debate where all the alternatives are discussed. A debate where we must eventually agree—although it won't be easy—on where we want the United States to be twenty or fifty years from now. A debate that sets a framework for action.

Our government owes this to us. Stopgap—often politicized—measures are not enough.

How will Mobil be affected? Regardless of the options chosen, there will be plenty of opportunities ahead for enterprising, flexible, efficient multinational companies who can bring consumers all over the world the energy they want and need. This is, of course, the kind of company we already are. But sensible energy policies would make our work easier and more productive. They would also make everybody's economic future infinitely more secure.

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Ten Years That Shook the World

A Decade of Conservative Victories

Adam Meyerson

The premise of this 10th Anniversary Issue of *Policy Review* is that conservative ideas and institutions have had a profound impact on America and the world during the past decade, and that the presidency of Ronald Reagan will leave a conservative legacy that no successor will be totally able to undo.

To be sure, conservatives have not won all the battles during the past decade, not even within the Reagan Administration. Government spending is higher as a proportion of GNP than under Jimmy Carter. Leninists allied with the Soviet Union are more strongly consolidated than ever in Nicaragua. The administration is devoting more energy toward securing an arms control agreement than toward institutionalizing the Strategic Defense Initiative. On issue after issue—from racial quotas to catastrophic health insurance to protectionism—the administration has yielded to short-term "pragmatism" and missed opportunities to achieve longer-term victories.

Nor have conservatives wrought a fundamental transformation of the political and economic order to rival the New Deal. Almost every conservative politician—with the exception of presidential candidate Pete du Pont—has made his peace with the basic structure of the welfare state. As Paul Weyrich argues in his article in this issue, "The Reagan Revolution That Wasn't," conservatives have concentrated so much on the presidency that they have failed to develop the local political bases on which genuine national power ultimately rests. And as Michael Johns contends, the United States is still dominated by a spirit of appeasement: The liberation of Grenada and the attack on Libya notwithstanding, our political culture is still paralyzed by post-Vietnam inhibitions on the direct use of American military power to protect freedom.

But a comparison of the world in 1987 with that of 1977 shows an astonishing shift toward conservatism both in the United States and around the globe. Over the 10 years that *Policy Review* has been published, conservative ideas have gained influence and respectability and increasingly set the terms of debate, and in many instances they have substantially improved the life of mankind. On those issues where conservative ideas have yet to triumph decisively, liberalism is intellectually bankrupt and offers no serious alternative.

Consider the conservative achievements of the past decade, as documented in this 10th Anniversary Issue:

The Supply-Side Revolution. In 1977, the top marginal income tax rate was 70 percent. In 1987, it is 38 percent going on 28 percent next year. As Gordon Jackson points out in "All Supply-Siders Now?," lower marginal tax rates have not solved every economic problem of the 1980s. They have not eliminated budget deficits caused by rising government spending, or opened protectionist foreign markets, or provided a stable currency. But supply-side economics has contributed mightily to an economic boom that has created 13 million new (and increasingly better-paying) jobs over the last five years. It has played a major role in President Reagan's principal domestic policy achievement: the conquest of Jimmy Carter's stagflation. Today tax cuts are spreading throughout the world, and bringing entrepreneurial opportunity wherever they are extended.

The Liberation Economics of Deregulation. In 1977, the U.S. government set prices (and often determined services) in the energy, transportation, finance, and telecommunications markets of this country. By 1987, all these markets were substantially deregulated, with spectacular benefits for consumers and for the U.S. economy in general. Murray Weidenbaum details those advantages and explains how the power of a good idea could prevail over entrenched political interests that opposed it.

The Counter-Revolution in Legal Thought. Ronald Reagan's appointment of nearly half the federal appellate judiciary will leave a conservative imprint on jurisprudence long after he leaves office. But an even more important legacy of the Reagan era has been the growth of four branches of conservative legal thought: interpretivism, libertarianism, the law and economics movement, and social conservatism. In 1977 conservative legal theorists were responding to liberal-left initiatives. In 1987, argues Michael McConnell in his article of this title, these four conservative movements may not be winning most of the court battles, but they are setting the terms of legal debate.

The Beginning of Rollback. In 1977, most of the world's guerrilla wars were waged by Marxist-Leninists

Adam Meyerson *is editor of* Policy Review.

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closely tied to the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Libya. By 1987, the revolutionary tide had shifted. Now most of the major insurgencies seek the overthrow of governments *allied* with the Soviets. As Alvin Bernstein argues in "Insurgents Against Moscow," the Reagan Doctrine of American support for anti-Communist guerrillas is preventing the Soviets from taking full advantage of their territorial gains. It is now the Soviets and their allies who are on the defensive.

The Strategic Defense Solution. In 1977, the Soviets were rapidly gaining the capability to destroy American military forces in a crippling first strike, and therefore to prevent us from deterring Soviet aggression. By 1987, America had become even more vulnerable to Soviet intimidation. President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative is the only way out of this vulnerability, though Congress has failed to provide the necessary funding for the space-based defense that would be feasible by the mid-1990s. As Robert Jastrow and James Frelk argue in "Emasculating America's Deterrent," this is an impending disaster for which conservatives have the only, though as yet unimplemented, answer.

Pax Reaganica. The election and subsequent landslide reelection of Ronald Reagan have coincided with and encouraged a global trend toward conservatism in all the major countries of the free world. The specter of "Eurocommunism" has been banished over the last decade, as Britain, West Germany, Italy, Canada, and Japan are all governed now by their countries' most anti-Soviet and least-socialistic parties. France's half-conservative, half-socialist (but unanimously anti-Soviet) government is now privatizing the industries nationalized in the early 1980s by Francois Mitterrand. The conservatism of some of these ostensibly conservative parties can be questioned, of course, but not by comparison with their opposition. In "Margaret Thatcher's Decade," George Szamuely assesses the achievements and failings of the most successful conservative leader besides Ronald Reagan.

The Worldwide Spread of Capitalism. In 1977, state domination was the hallmark of most economic development strategies in the Third World and the foreign aid establishment. But over the last decade, the superior performance of market-based economies, especially Asia's Four Tigers, has been so obvious that countries throughout Africa and Latin America are turning to market solutions and even Communist China is implementing market reforms. In "Great Leap Forward," Alvin Rabushka predicts a free-market economic boom in the next decade in Central America.

The elections of 1980 and 1984 proved what strategists such as Kevin Phillips and William Rusher had been saying for years: Conservatives can forge a majority if economic conservatives build a coalition with social conservatives upset by liberal assaults on their families and schools. As Dinesh D'Souza argues in "Out of the Wilderness," the political emergence of evangelical Christians and the New Right made possible the presidency of Ronald Reagan. This movement has also sensitized the nation to a crisis in its spiritual character.

Partly under the influence of the Religious Right as well as more traditional conservative teachings, Americans in the last decade have rejected most of the cultural pieties of the 1960s and 1970s. Criminals are now regarded as victimizers, not victims. Illegitimacy and family breakdown are widely recognized as the principal cause of poverty in America. The feminist disdain for the family is giving way among millions of women to the fear they will never be married or remarried. And with the AIDS scare and the death of prominent athletes and actors from cocaine, Nature has been confirming conventional morality by showing that there are certain things the human body is not supposed to do. The biggest failing of the Religious and New Right over the past decade has been its inability to restrict the use of abortion as a form of birth control—an inability that probably results from the bitter internecine squabbles of the pro-life movement.

The conservative movement does not depend on a conservative administration to set the American agenda.

The rightward shift at the policy and political level has been supported by a rediscovery of traditional values in popular culture. As Karl Zinsmeister argues in "The Revolt Against Alienation," demographic shifts toward the South and the West have been accompanied by a decentralization and democratization of culture and by a rejection of artistic modernism. New York, Hollywood, and the big recording studios have lost their control of the cultural agenda. Historic art forms are returning: ornament in architecture, a revived patriotism in the movies, story telling in novels, a self-conscious traditionalism in country music.

The Efflorescence of Conservative Journalism

The liberal-left is more dominant than ever in university faculties and the staffs of churches and synagogues. But over the past decade, conservatives have exercised increasing influence over a press from which they were previously excluded. Joining such stalwarts as *National Review, Human Events,* the *American Spectator, Commentary,* and the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page, there is now a major conservative daily newspaper (the *Washington Times),* a foreign policy quarterly (the *National Interest),* a newsmagazine (*Insight),* and a lively libertarian monthly (*Reason).* While most reporters in the mainstream press continue to be liberal, conservatives are widely quoted, and the best read op-ed columnists are mostly conservative. Meanwhile, increasing numbers of publications and writers, most notably the *New Republic* and George Will, have discovered that the way to achieve respectability is to express conservative ideas while launching *ad hominem* attacks on conservative people.

As the quarterly magazine of The Heritage Foundation, *Policy Review* has been close to the nerve center of the conservative policy revolution in Washington. Edited first by Robert Schuettinger, now president of the Washington

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International Studies Center, then by John O'Sullivan, now chief editorial writer for *The Times* of London (on leave as Margaret Thatcher's principal speechwriter), *Policy Review* has drawn on the diverse streams of conservative thought—neoconservatism and New Right, libertarianism and traditionalism—in addressing the central policy issues of our times.

With the AIDS scare and the death of prominent athletes and actors from cocaine, Nature has been confirming conventional morality by showing that there are certain things the human body is not supposed to do.

A stroll through back issues ("Ten Years of Policy Review") sheds light on the changing intellectual atmosphere of the past decade. Many of the liberal ideas assaulted in *Policy Review* at the outset of the decade are totally discredited today: wage and price controls, national industrial policy, Naderite proposals for federal chartering of corporations, and the Global 2000 hysteria about a world running out of food and resources, have all been discarded into the dustbin of liberal history. Other *Policy Review* battles have not yet been won: Senators pushing this year for a 40 percent hike in the minimum wage should read Walter Williams' analysis of the connection between minimum wages and teen-age black unemployment, still as trenchant as in the Fall of 1977. The "clientitis" afflicting the State Department that John Krizay detected in Spring 1978 is still as prevalent today.

Summer of Conservative Discontent

Many conservatives are discouraged in mid-1987, and not simply because the Reagan Administration seems to be sputtering, its reputation for competence being daily whittled away by the Iran-contra hearings. The 1986 elections were also a partial setback. Even though the newly elected Democratic senators are fairly conservative, and most Republicans who lost were liberal, the switch in Senate leadership has made it harder for conservatives to prevail on issues such as strategic defense and aid to the contras.

More dispiriting than the elections of 1986 are those of 1988. No moderate-to-conservative Democrat is running for his party's presidential nomination, suggesting that the Mondale debacle of 1984 has not yet reshaped the Democratic Party in the way that the Alf Landon defeat of 1936 led to the 1940 Republican nomination of Wendell Willkie, an internationalist and a supporter of the New Deal. On the Republican side, the influence and energies of conservatives are being dissipated by an apparent inability to unite enthusiastically behind a single standard-bearer. Neither the Goldwater campaign of 1964 nor the Reagan campaigns of 1968 and 1976 succeeded in capturing the White House, but each galvanized the conservative movement into an increasingly powerful political force. Conservatives would be much less discouraged by the running out of steam of the Reagan Administration if their hopes and aspirations could be shifted to a new political leader.

As conservatives look to the future, however, it is important to remember four things:

First, the Reagan Administration is hardly over. The compilation of "One Hundred Conservative Victories" shows decisive triumphs for conservative ideas throughout the Reagan Administration. In 1986, the President achieved all of his top priorities: aid for the contras, tax reform, and the confirmation of William Rehnquist and Antonin Scalia as Chief Justice and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Reagan's recent call for General Secretary Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall shows his continuing ability to go on the rhetorical offensive.

Second, the 1988 elections offer an extraordinary opportunity to define issues, and particularly to provide a mandate for strategic defense, a vigorous foreign policy, and a continuation of tax cuts. The landslide reelection of Margaret Thatcher this June shows the electoral advantages of an issue-driven conservative campaign.

Third, as the compilation of 100 victories shows, the conservative movement does not depend on a conservative administration to set the American agenda. The tax revolt started in 1978, after all, and in 1979-80 pressure from conservatives forced Jimmy Carter both to expand the defense budget substantially and to abandon the SALT II treaty. Conservatives in the Senate are successfully obstructing the liberal agenda in 1987. And should a nonconservative Democrat or Republican succeed Reagan, conservatives will be in a far better position than in the 1970s to defeat his policies. This is because thousands of young conservatives have gained practical experience in government during the Reagan Administration. Well-organized, well-trained, well-financed, they can have almost as much impact in opposition as in power.

Finally, conservatives have a beautiful vision of the future. Several descriptions of a conservative utopia are provided in the closing pages of this 10th Anniversary Issue. ☎

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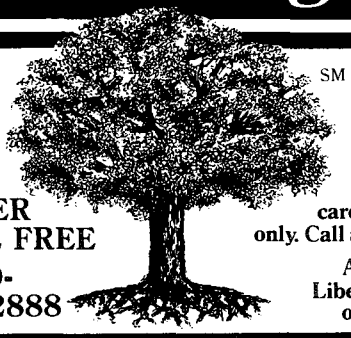

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ALL SUPPLY-SIDERS NOW?

In the Long Run We Are All Rich

GORDON JACKSON

"We are all Keynesians now," Richard Nixon proclaimed in 1971, and several months later underscored his faith in Washington's ability to regulate the economy by instituting wage and price controls. In 1973, however, the consensus Nixon affirmed began to break down with the advent of stagflation, a combination of sluggish growth and high inflation that Keynesianism could not explain. By the time the last Keynesian president, Jimmy Carter, left office, all the indicators showed an economy in steep decline. Inflation stood at 12.5 percent. The prime interest rate was 21 percent. The unemployment rate was nearly 8 percent. Industrial productivity slogged along at a meager 1.4 percent annual growth rate. The Dow Jones Average, under 1,000, was the same it had been in 1966, despite inflation. Undermined by the theory he had inherited, Carter was hoist on his own petard—the "misery index" with which he had tried to deflagrate Gerald Ford's campaign in 1976—and returned by voters to Georgia to administer the smaller economies of his peanut farm.

Today, six-and-a-half years into the administration of a president espousing a souped-up version of classical economics known as supply-side, the numbers tell a different story. Unemployment has fallen to 6.3 percent, and 61.6 percent of the total civilian population is employed—a level never before achieved by any industrial nation. Inflation is running at about 4 percent. The prime interest rate is at 8.25 percent; T-bills recently fell to 5.7 percent. Industrial productivity, growing at 3.8 percent annually, is double the rate in the 70s. The Dow Jones is two-and-one-half times its level when Ronald Reagan took office, a resounding affirmation of the market's confidence in the American economy.

The end of stagflation and the return to economic health is due in some measure to the draconian taming of inflation by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker. It also must be attributed partly to the superior business efficiency resulting from the deregulation of the transportation, telecommunications, energy and finance industries, as well as from the competition engendered by low-cost, high-quality products from Japan and other foreign countries. But the most important ingredient has been the entrepreneurial energy and creativity unleashed by lowering marginal tax rates. Supply-side economics has been at the heart of America's economic rejuvenation.

The principal fallacy of Keynesianism was its disregard of the incentive structure for producers. The Keynesians' concern was to manipulate consumer demand. They regarded producers as secondary players taking their cue from government and consumers. The policy maker had only to regulate demand, and he could elicit whatever economic activity he wished. Sometimes Keynesians favored tax cuts, but only in the same way they supported increases in government spending—as a means of stimulating demand. They believed that deficit spending also would stimulate the economy by increasing demand, a theory that dovetailed nicely with the desire of welfare-state liberals to increase spending. The liberal-Keynesian alliance welcomed steeply progressive income tax schedules as a tool of redistribution, while virtually ignoring the disincentives of high tax rates on work and productive investment.

Supply-siders, on the other hand, saw the producer as the central actor in the economy. They believed that cutting his marginal tax rates—the tax on the last dollar of income—would result in greater effort, savings, investment, and innovation. They largely ignored aggregate demand, arguing that it is an elastic concept dictated by supply and cannot be adequately measured.

Judgment on the debate has come swiftly during the past 10 years, owing in part to the collapse of the Keynesian rationale. The top marginal rate for individuals will be 28 percent next year, down from 70 percent when Reagan took office. Far from ministering over an established orthodoxy, the Keynesians are in intellectual disarray, trying to figure out why tax cuts didn't cause inflation, as they had predicted, and beginning to study the supply-side effects of tax rate cuts, as supply-siders had encouraged them to do a decade ago. No longer is it commonly accepted that progressive taxation is the way to redistribute the nation's wealth equitably. The supply-side revolution has taken hold in a number of states, and is beginning to be exported abroad. Supply-side economics is an idea that has made a big difference in a short time.

The initial skirmishes of what would become a tax revo-

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lution took place between Nixon's leaving office and Reagan's election. Perhaps the opening salvo was fired on December 11, 1974 when the views of economist Robert Mundell were explicated on the op-ed page of the *Wall Street Journal* by Jude Wanniski, a hard-charging journalist who combined a reporter's zest for detail and confrontation with a Hegelian faith in the power of ideas. Wanniski had arrived at a supply-side viewpoint under the tutelage of Mundell and an iconoclastic economist in the Nixon Administration named Arthur Laffer. Laffer's informal illustration of the possibility that lowering tax rates can in some cases produce more tax revenue—the Laffer Curve—was adopted by Wanniski as a means of popularizing the movement. Wanniski's influential 1978 book *The Way the World Works* drew attention to the Laffer Curve effects of the Mellon tax cuts of the 20s, and the Kennedy tax cuts of the 60s that had brought the top marginal rate down from 91 percent to 70 percent. Wanniski demonstrated that both rapid economic growth and increased revenue from the top tax bracket had followed these tax reductions.

By the late 70s, Wanniski had converted his boss at the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page, Robert Bartley. Bartley's interest assured the debate a widely noted and highly respected journalistic forum. At the same time, the idea was taking hold in the unlikeliest of places—the United States Congress—a body normally receptive only to ideas politically well-connected. Wanniski had won another convert in Congressman Jack Kemp, the articulate former professional quarterback from Buffalo, who quickly went on the offensive. Kemp hired economist Paul Craig Roberts, whose research had focused on the effects of marginal tax rates on the relative costs of work and leisure, and of investment and consumption. Kemp and Roberts found a reasonably educable Congress, thanks in part to the stagflation that had begun to reoccur in the late 70s and the accompanying erosion of the Keynesian consensus.

The first product of Congress' newfound sensitivity to tax matters was the reduction in 1978 of the capital gains rate from 49 percent to 28 percent. Sponsored by Representative William Steiger, this measure attempted to address the plight of new businesses that were finding it hard to raise capital under a law that confiscated nearly half of the profits of stock sales. Lobbied for vigorously by the electronics industry, especially Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, against the indifference and sometime opposition of more established business, the legislation was passed by a bipartisan coalition that included such far-left liberals as Senator Alan Cranston. Perhaps the most influential factor was the testimony of economists from across the spectrum that lowering the rate would result in more revenue. They were proved right. Capital gains tax revenues increased by 175 percent between 1978 and 1985. In the two years following the rate reduction, the number of new stock offerings increased more than ten-fold.

Bipartisan Support

A profound shift of attitude was reflected again the following year in a less publicized event—the publication of the Joint Economic Committee report. Unanimously endorsed for the first time in 20 years, with liberals such as Senators Kennedy and McGovern affixing their signatures, the report unambiguously attributed stagflation to an excess of demand-oriented policies, and recommended a supply-side approach. Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen wrote in the chairman's introduction: "an emerging consensus [has arisen] in the committee and the country that the federal government should put its house in order and that the major challenges today and for the foreseeable future are on the supply side of the economy."

The report was a large personal victory for Roberts, who in 1978 had published "The Breakdown of the Keynesian Model" in the *Public Interest.* Roberts pointed out that none of the econometric models used by government took account of the supply-side effects of marginal tax rate reductions. Remarkably, some models forecast that a cut in the corporate income tax rate—making investment more profitable—would actually result in less investment and lower income. Roberts also undermined a curious notion held by many Keynesians, notably then-director of the Congressional Budget Office Alice Rivlin, that lower taxes will result in less work effort. Not only did this view defy common sense, but it also placed the Keynesians in a fundamental contradiction. Their models predicted tax cuts would stimulate consumer-driven economic growth. But if work is reduced in the aggregate through a tax cut, the production of goods and services must be reduced as well.

The supply-side paradigm was always populist, focusing not on the wealthy, but on those who want to become wealthy.

The theoretical groundwork of supply side was completely in place around the time Reagan took office with the publication of George Gilder's *Wealth and Poverty.* A commercial success—500,000 copies sold worldwide—*Wealth and Poverty* was distributed to members of the Reagan cabinet as intellectual ammunition. An original and wide-ranging thinker, Gilder postulated something of a great man theory of economics—the world moved forward by inspired entrepreneurs overcoming the forces of stasis. Entrepreneurial inspiration is liable to come from any quarter, Gilder argued. It cannot be summoned by government planners. It hinges largely on the mysteries of faith, and cannot be predicted, but is far more likely to be forthcoming with proper tax incentives in place. Gilder's eloquent attempt to take the supply-side argument all the way back to first principles reinforced policy efforts to change the tax structure, and gave the new Reagan Administration an ideological shot in the arm.

The legislative groundwork had been laid for a Reagan tax bill as well. In 1977, Kemp and Senator William Roth introduced a bill that would lower tax rates on individuals by 30 percent over three years. They debated their case in Congress for four years and awaited a president who could

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make a major tax cut happen.

While the stage was being set for a Reagan tax revolution at the federal level, cutting taxes was tried in a number of states. The most striking examples of success were, ironically, (or perhaps logically), in two states that had been leading the way in expanding government's role, California and Massachusetts. Since 1978, California has lowered its tax burden from third-highest in the nation to five percent below the national average. As a result, employment has soared 22 percent since 1978 and real personal income has risen nearly 18 percent, both well above the national average. Following California's lead, Massachusetts slashed property taxes by 40 percent in 1980, and saw personal income and real estate values take off.

Capital gains tax revenues increased by 175 percent between 1978 and 1985. In the two years following the rate reduction, the number of new stock offerings increased more than ten-fold.

Reaganomics

A supply-side tax policy was one of the four pillars of Reaganomics, the others being steady, predictable monetary growth; deregulation of business; and spending reductions moving toward a balanced budget. Unquestionably, the most dramatic successes have come in tax policy.

The 1981 tax bill was the centerpiece of Reaganomics. Its provisions in reducing the rates on individuals were similar to Kemp-Roth's; the top rate came down from 70 percent to 50 percent, and there was a 25 percent cut in the other brackets. These reductions were indexed to protect against bracket creep caused by inflation—a provision that didn't take effect, however, until 1984. Businesses were given the tax investment credit and accelerated depreciation to facilitate capital formation, savings, and investment. The capital gains rate was reduced further to 20 percent. Again, the effort was to a large degree bipartisan. Democratic Representative William Broadhead was the first to propose that the top marginal rate be lowered all at once instead of over three years, a suggestion that was immediately picked up by supply-siders. After the bill's passage, a toast was raised to Keynes during a party in Kemp's office: "It is the long run, and you are dead."

The supply-side consensus did not last long, however. The tax cuts were subjected to a campaign of vilification before they were even put into place. The 81-82 recession and the growing federal budget deficit provided the opening for the critics of the president who wanted to undermine Reaganomics altogether. They made common cause with a number of old-guard balanced-budget Republicans who wanted to repeal the tax cuts, most prominently Senators Domenici and Dole, chairmen of the budget and finance committees, several White House aides thought to be led by chief-of-staff Jim Baker, and OMB director David Stockman, the apostate. Stockman had been a supply-sider for a year or two—indeed he owed his job at OMB to Kemp's efforts to get an ally in the position. But his search for a "grand theory" eventually brought him to rest securely in the following propositions: the economy is driven by the federal budget deficit; politicians are unprincipled and self-interested, but they adequately reflect the will of the electorate and protect the republic from zealous ideologues who would destroy the equilibrium produced by competing factions; supply-siders, since they do not accept these truths, are crackpots.

Stockman had gotten the old-time balanced-budget religion characteristic of Republicans in the Eisenhower era; and perhaps he was also frustrated that his own gauge of success as OMB head—the budget bottom line—was clearly not going to be the Administration's favorite leading indicator. To give him his due, he probably did believe the Administration was abandoning its integrity by pursuing tax cuts vigorously, but spending cuts only halfheartedly at best. Whatever his motivation, Stockman set out to repeal the tax cuts his president had campaigned on and delivered. He found willing allies in the press, which, like congressional liberals, didn't miss a beat in transferring its allegiance from Keynesianism to a heretical offshoot of Reaganomics.

The Stockmanomics heresy—that the pro-growth Reagan tax policy must necessarily wait for spending reductions—took hold in the unlikeliest of climates, a severe recession. It somehow became the conventional wisdom of Washington that a tax increase was needed to allay unemployment—by assuring the financial markets that government was serious about deficits so they would bring down interest rates. This view was neither Keynesian nor supply side, but it served the immediate purposes of the foes of Reaganomics.

The recession immensely complicated the supply-siders' efforts to plead their case. They believed Volcker made unemployment worse with excessively tight money, thus making the deficit mushroom because of lower revenues and more transfer payments by government to the unemployed. Supply-siders also argued that Volcker's sudden collapse of inflation turned what had appeared to be substantial spending cuts in the planning stage into real increases, thus stalling the momentum of Reaganomics' four-pronged attack. But the argument didn't wash with a Washington establishment disinclined to give Reaganomics the benefit of the doubt. Volcker got credit for beating inflation, the tax cuts were blamed for the recession and the deficit, and the supply-siders were banished for a time to the lunatic fringes.

A degree of respectability returned when the recovery took off at a dazzling pace in 1983 coincident with the final phasing in of the tax cuts. But supply-siders believed their movement was undermined once again by the Fed. They were mortified when Volcker cut off money growth altogether in the second half of 1984. They believed he was operating under the incorrect Keynesian assumption

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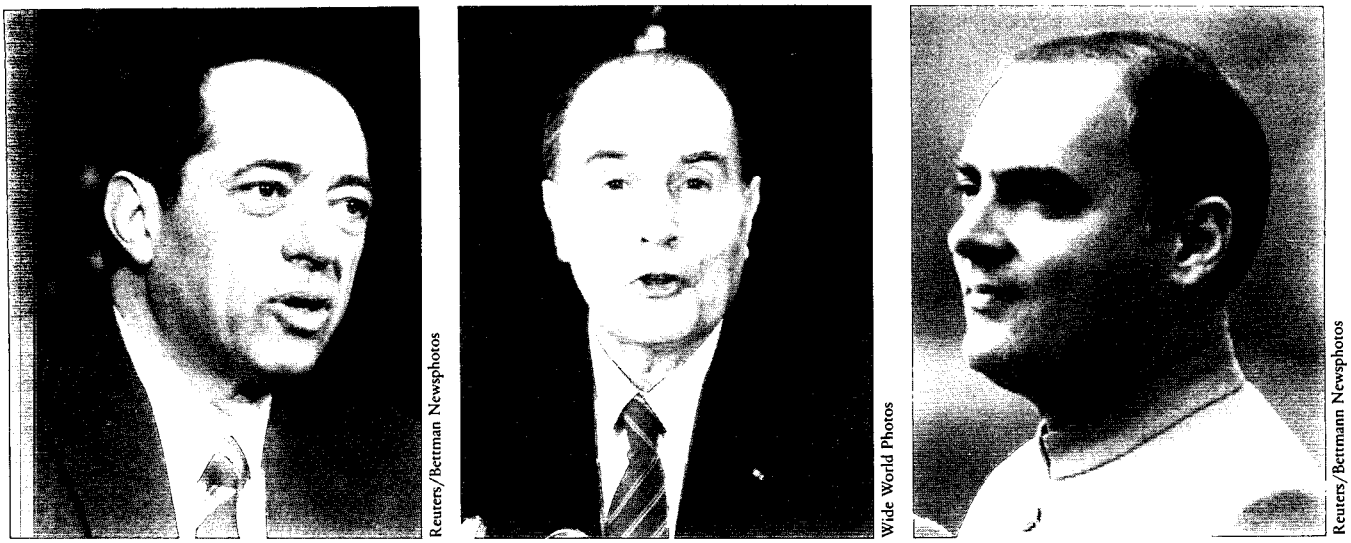

Siding with Supply: Cuomo, Mitterrand, Gandhi

that a fast rate of growth must inevitably be inflationary. Finding themselves having to defend an unexceptional recovery as the vindication of their views, supply-siders once again began to keep a relatively low profile.

Through all this, Ronald Reagan remained a part-time ally. An instinctive proponent of classical, free-market economics, he was never a chapter-and-verse supply-sider. Under pressure from Stockmanites, he assented to tax increases in 1982 and 1984. But after Congress failed to deliver spending cuts in return for tax increases (three dollars in cuts for every one in new taxes had been promised in 1982) the President set himself in concrete against any further increases. It appears that resolve will not be shaken through the rest of his term.

Though they were being given little credit, supply-siders saw their ideas bear fruit once again with the tax reform bill of 1986, which brought the top marginal rate on individuals down to 28 percent and the rate on corporations down to 33 percent. These supply-side objectives dovetailed with the desire of liberals to close loopholes, something supply-siders could live with since by-and-large they favor a tax code that gives no preference to any particular type of business enterprise. This bill again was highly bipartisan, bringing under the supply-side tent for a time Democrats such as Bill Bradley and Dan Rostenkowski, and old guard Republicans like Bob Packwood.

The lower rates were not without economic cost, however, and some supply-siders, notably Roberts, believe the cost may have been too high. He points out that, by eliminating the investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation, and bringing the capital gains rate back to 28 percent, the bill has taken away the only features of the tax code that provide incentive for investment over consumption. He is not sure the trade for lower marginal rates was a good one. There is no uncertainty among the more visionary supply-siders (Roberts would have it noted that they are not economists) such as Gilder, who believes the psychic capital, the entrepreneurial motivation, engendered by the lower rates, will produce a torrent of growth.

This is only a minor internecine squabble, however. Most supply-siders see the bill as a clear-cut victory. Reagan seems to be back on the team now; Stockman has left the fray for Wall Street; and Jim Baker is now a growth-oriented Treasury secretary. Supply side has very quietly crept back to a position where it is clearly going to set the parameters for future policy struggles.

Holding the Theoretical Ground

The reason supply side still holds the theoretical high ground from which it dispatched Keynesianism is that it has for the most part successfully defended the catechism against a continual barrage of criticism from liberals, Keynesians, and Stockmanites. Viewed broadly, these criticisms are of two strains. The first consists of moral arguments to the effect that, by largely abandoning progressive taxation, the U.S. has forsworn a commitment to the general welfare and allowed social Darwinism to run rampant in the land. The second holds that the 1981 tax cuts were rash, they encouraged a free-lunch mentality both in the public and private sectors, and we are now a nation drowning in debt.

The first category of criticism is most easily answered, because if there is one thing we know about supply-side tax cuts, it is that they do not redistribute wealth from the poor back to the rich. On the contrary, the mounting evidence of Laffer Curve effects in the top income bracket suggests that the way to "soak the rich" is to lower their tax rates. Of the $44.6 billion increase in federal tax revenues between 1981 and 1985, 86 percent was paid by taxpayers with incomes over $100,000. That trend likely will be demonstrated all the more conclusively when the results of tax reform are more fully tallied. Revenues are currently running $30 billion over expectations since the first of the year, and it is likely most of that will be shown to have come from the top bracket.

The supply-side paradigm was always populist, focusing not on the wealthy, but on those who want to become wealthy. The results so far repudiate the claim that the tax cuts were nothing more than a stalking horse for sneaking in more boodle to the rich.

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The second line of criticism has been a bit more difficult to answer, but the supply-siders seem to have the numbers to buttress their case. Certainly rising debt, both government and private, deserves close attention. But the tremendous rise in equity during the Reagan era makes it much less of a concern. Since 1982, the value of corporate equity has risen $1.7 trillion, compared with a $600 billion loss over the previous six years. Household net wealth has grown at a rate of 7.5 percent annually since 1980, compared to a 2.9 percent rate in the 70s. As Gilder points out, debt can be good or bad, depending on what it is used for. Borrowing $5,000 to feed a cocaine habit is hardly the same thing as borrowing it to start a new business. The numbers suggest that much of America's debt is going toward building up valuable equity.

Reductions in Top Marginal Tax Rates

	1979	1987
Bolivia	48%	10%
Botswana	75	60
Colombia	56	30
Egypt	80	65
France	70	53
India	65	50
Indonesia	50	35
Israel	66	48
Italy	72	62
Jamaica	58	33
Malaysia	60	45
New Zealand	66	48
Philippines	70	35
Sweden	87	75
Turkey	68	50
United States	70	28 [1988]
United Kingdom	83	60

Source: Alan Reynolds, *Polyconomics*

The 1981 tax cuts have survived a variety of challenges. The most oft-heard charge has been that the tax cuts must take responsibility for the budget deficit (and, indirectly, the trade deficit). This just is not so; the deficit is a spending problem, not a revenue problem. Between 1981 and 1986, revenue increased 11 percent in real dollars, spending increased by 24 percent. Revenues comprise about the same proportion of GNP that they did under Jimmy Carter—between 19 and 20 percent. To assume that revenues and taxes could have increased as envisioned by the last Carter budgets is to assume that the economy could have borne additional taxes of $164 billion on individuals. Clearly, a change in this course toward higher taxes was called for; Congress just didn't get the message that spending cuts were to be an integral part of the program. As Senator Phil Gramm has pointed out, if spending were only held constant, the deficit could be reduced by $70 billion a year and eliminated in three years.

A related charge, not heard so often any more since the facts have proven inconvenient, is that the tax cuts would drive up interest rates and lead to a crowding out of private borrowers from the credit markets. Real interest rates have not, on average, risen during the Reagan years, and the crowding out theory, like so many of the canards thrown out to discredit Reaganomics, does not stand up under the relentless numbers crunching of syndicated columnist Warren Brookes. He points out that available domestic credit more than doubled between 1981 and 1985. The credit markets are highly elastic, and seldom does a producer of real wealth get squeezed out. Paul Craig Roberts also notes that government can crowd out through taxation as well as borrowing by lowering the after-tax return of investment.

Another contention no longer made is that tax rate cuts will drive up inflation. This was the prediction made in 1981 by Keynesians, who assumed that the cuts would increase demand without a corresponding growth of goods and services. Instead, inflation has gone steadily down. Volcker obviously gets most of the credit, but perhaps supply-siders have been too slow to claim a share. They contended, after all, that high taxes caused inflation by driving up payroll costs and forcing marginal producers out of business.

Critics of supply side have also often noted that the savings rate has not increased. In the early polemics, supply-siders made much, perhaps more than they would now, of the possibility that expanded savings could help finance the increased entrepreneurial activity they foresaw, and help prevent any crowding out effects. The net personal savings rate has, however, gone down slightly. But this is perhaps not the most useful measurement of savings in terms of the role supply-siders envisioned it as playing. It does not include the dramatically increased corporate and personal equity, which constitutes savings in the sense that it can be borrowed against to finance investment. More and more homeowners, for example, are selling or taking out a second mortgage on their increasingly valuable homes to acquire capital for new businesses.

Another count in the indictment of the tax cuts is that the Reagan recovery has been classic Keynesian, driven by the consumer with more money in his pocket, and predict-

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able by the Keynesian theory that deficit spending will always stimulate the economy. It is a difficult charge to disprove, but just as hard for the Keynesians to prove. The supply-side case is that there was a sharp expansion of capital goods in 1983 and 1984, then a drop-off which could be explained by Volcker's tightening. Gilder also makes the point that several of the western industrial nations were running deficits at the same time as high or higher as a percentage of GNP, and by Keynesian analysis, should have had their economies stimulated. The recovery, however, took hold only here.

These assaults on the Reagan tax cuts undoubtedly will recede in a year or so when the more bipartisan 1986 tax reform has been in place for a while. But the supply-siders have proven they can take the heat.

No Political Capital

While historians may come to refer to the 80s as the supply-side decade, it is uncertain what the 90s hold for this theory that has found only a small number of champions. For an idea as sexy as supply-side economics—liberating great men from the snares of bureaucratic manipulators so that they can lead us into a more prosperous future—it has taken on surprisingly little political vitality. Kemp's faltering presidential campaign shows he has gotten little credit for leading the policy battles. He and Pete du Pont are the only supply-siders in the race.

Particularly distressing to supply-siders must be the fact that there seems as yet no consensus on the issues they have raised, even within movement conservatism. Bob Dole is drawing significant conservative support even though he continues to speak at every opportunity of the need for a "bipartisan effort to do something about the deficit"—boilerplate easily decoded to mean tax increases. The Reagan tax revolution doesn't at this point seem like an issue in 1988. A good case can be made that Ronald Reagan took a significant stride toward gaining the presidency in 1980 when he became a supply-sider, but the lesson evidently didn't register with any currently employed political consultants. Since one would assume that the politics of cutting taxes would have no trouble finding enthusiastic partisans, evidently the reluctance of the current group of candidates to call themselves supply-siders stems from a genuine, if mistaken, belief that the theories are economically unsound.

Fundamental Change

There are many problems, of course, for which supply-side economics, or even the full course of Reaganomics, holds no answer: foreign governments that will not open their markets to American goods or stimulate their economies so that the U.S. is not the world's buyer of last resort; a worldwide glut of such commodities as steel and agricultural goods, often caused by government subsidization; a workforce less literate, less inclined to defer consumption, and less governed by fundamental moral values. Tax cuts are no panacea. Nor can they be fully effective in the absence of a monetary policy that does not provide room for growth.

The forces of statism and zero-sum thinking gather daily like dark clouds over Washington, and we may well be in for a downpour of new taxes as soon as Reagan leaves office.

But if nothing else, the Reagan tax cuts have changed the dynamics of politics in Washington. Tax policy has now become the framework for the debate over government's priorities, philosophical entreaties having run aground on the politics of pork and pressure groups. If Congress cannot raise taxes, it is constrained from spending promiscuously and must begin to discuss priorities. Any new spending program now is evaluated in terms of the effect it will have on the deficit.

Are we all supply-siders now? Has it become the conventional wisdom that low taxes are the key to economic vitality? Almost certainly not. The forces of statism and zero-sum thinking gather daily like dark clouds over Washington, and we may well be in for a downpour of new taxes as soon as Reagan leaves office.

But the idea that growth should be at the center of economic policy unquestionably has taken root, and is flowering across a politically diverse terrain. Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts wants credit for his state's economic revival even though he had nothing to do with the tax cuts that brought it about. He is joined by a host of disparate political figures—Mario Cuomo, Dan Rostenkowski, Bob Packwood, François Mitterrand, and Rajiv Gandhi among them—who all want supply-side policies without the label. The Reagan tax revolution is being exported to such nations as China, India, New Zealand, Singapore, Jamaica, the Philippines, Canada, socialist France, and a host of others. We may not all be calling ourselves supply-siders, but tax rates are coming down, governments are disengaging from the marketplace, and opportunities are expanding for millions of entrepreneurs—and their customers—throughout the world.

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LIBERATION ECONOMICS

The Benefits of Deregulation

MURRAY L. WEIDENBAUM

The deregulation of American transportation, telecommunications, energy, and financial markets over the past 10 years has been a triumph of ideas over entrenched political interests. For 90 years—from the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1886 to the passage of the Toxic Substances Control Act in 1976—government regulation of American economic activity continuously expanded, and created in its wake powerful constituencies who benefited from the regulation.

Yet this trend in government rule-making has changed dramatically and perhaps irrevocably during the past decade, resulting in remarkable benefits for the American economy. Deregulation has lowered the cost of producing goods and services. It has offered a wider array of choices to the American consumer. And it has substantially bolstered the international competitiveness of our economy.

What caused the shift toward deregulation was not a realignment of political forces. The most significant developments were supported by a bipartisan coalition in both the legislative and executive branches of the federal government. Consumer activists such as Ralph Nader offered support at vital points, as did leaders of both political parties, including Presidents Ford and Carter and Senator Edward Kennedy. But the most important role was played by a very unusual set of actors in the public policy arena: economists, political scientists, legal scholars, and similar purveyors of ideas.

Intellectual Support

Three streams of economic research and policy analysis dealing with different aspects of regulation reached a confluence in the early 1970s. The first, and most substantial, focused on the heavy and widely distributed burdens that economic regulation imposed on the economy, especially in the field of transportation, and the smaller and far more concentrated distribution of any resulting benefits. The second research effort dealt with the fundamental nature of the regulatory process, especially the relationships between regulators and those regulated. The third area of research focused on the general costs of regulation, especially to the consumer.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact start of the influential research that led to transportation deregulation, but *The Economics of Competition in the Transportation Industries,* written by John R. Meyer, *et al.* in 1959, was a landmark study. Important work followed on each of the major modes of transportation, notably George W. Douglas and James C. Miller, III on airlines, and Thomas Gale Moore on trucking.

The airline industry provided the clearest examples of the heavy cost of regulation, particularly the price differences for trips on regulated and non-regulated airlines. Interstate travel was under the jurisdiction of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB); intrastate travel was beyond the CAB's purview. Research found that a traveler could fly 500 miles from San Diego to San Francisco in the unregulated California market and pay less than someone flying 300 miles from Portland, Oregon to Seattle, Washington under the CAB's control.

Most American economists writing in this field also had concluded during the 1970s that Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) regulation was protecting the carriers (railroads, truckers, and their unions) while increasing costs to shippers by billions of dollars a year. Comparable studies were made of other regulated industries, such as radio, television, and utilities.

A consensus gradually emerged. Transportation regulation in the United States did not protect its purported beneficiaries, consumers, but instead was designed to benefit the employees, executives, and shareholders of the companies being regulated. Government rule-making shielded entrenched firms from potential new competitors and kept a high price umbrella over the regulated industry.

The second, and related, stream of research focused on the political efforts of interest groups that benefited from regulation. Political scientist Marver Bernstein presented in 1955 a basic "capture" theory of regulation. As the only political force in the regulatory agency's environment with any stability, the industry eventually forced the agency to accommodate its needs. George Stigler and Sam Peltzman

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generalized this theory, contending that regulatory policy reflects the interests and the power of the concerned groups, not necessarily the consumer's. In 1982, Stigler was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics for his seminal articles on the theory of regulation and his empirical studies of the effect of regulation on specific industries.

The third line of research—focusing on costs to consumers—saw the topic move from the business pages and academic journals to the front pages and the nightly news. The American Enterprise Institute (AEI) led the way in the mid-1970s with several widely cited reports on the high cost of regulation, among them my own *Government-Mandated Price Increases,* Sam Peltzman's *Regulation of Pharmaceutical Innovation,* John P. Gould's *Davis Bacon Act, and* Rita Ricardo-Campbell's *Food Safety and Regulation.* In 1977, AEI began publishing a bimonthly journal, *Regulation,* that is devoted entirely to government rulemaking. The issue hit a responsive chord with the media, influential policy groups, and finally the Congress.

A few simple concepts made the issue attractive. Deregulation presented policy-makers with an opportunity to curb escalating inflation in a way that did not involve a tradeoff with jobs. Indeed, reduced regulation would cut both costs and barriers to production and employment.

The burdens of regulation were characterized as a hidden tax on the consumer ($63 billion in 1976 for a sample of federal regulatory programs, according to estimates by Robert De Fina and me). This cost increase was buried in the form of higher prices but it was very real and often regressive.

Cost-benefit analysis—which had been used to screen out clearly uneconomical expenditure projects for decades—also proved to be useful when applied to regulation. Although the implementation required dealing with many difficult conceptual and statistical problems, the general notion of weighing costs against benefits generated a positive reaction.

Carefully researched examples of regulatory silliness brought these concepts to the public's attention. Perhaps the first was the dead haul—the numerous requirements that resulted in trucks returning empty from delivery even though there was ample opportunity to fill them with cargo. The public needed no great expertise in industrial organization to resent the waste that resulted.

This unusual form of applied research concentrated increasingly on the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. OSHA jokes (based on that research) became a staple of business conversation. Is it true that OSHA made one company build separate his and her toilets even though the only two employees of the firm were married to each other? Did OSHA really issue a bulletin to farmers telling them to be careful around cows and not to step into manure pits? Both of those questions could, quite accurately, be answered in the affirmative.

By the late 1970s, support for regulatory reform had become widespread. It included business executives who found themselves inundated with a flood of rules to follow and reports to file, lawyers and political scientists who thought that the regulatory agencies often were captured by the regulated industries, and economists who believed that regulation reduced competition and increased costs. Congressional hearings on the subject yielded support for less regulation from such disparate groups—and surprising allies—as the American Conservative Union and the Consumer Federation of America.

Ten Years of Progress

Progress on deregulation built up slowly but gathered strong momentum in the mid and late 70s. In 1968, the Supreme Court decision permitted non-AT&T equipment to be hooked into the Bell telephone system. In the following year, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allowed a non-Bell company to connect its long-distance network with local phone systems. Although these two actions attracted little attention at the time, they triggered the forces that led to the breakup of the Bell system.

In the 1970s, interest rates on deposits of $100,000 and over were deregulated. Again, one move toward deregulation ultimately led to another. As securities firms took advantage of that "loophole," banks responded. A process was set in motion that has resulted in the lifting of interest rate ceilings, the payment of interest on consumer demand deposits, and greater competition among financial institutions.

Two important regulatory changes took place in 1975. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) ordered an end to the practice of fixed brokerage fees for stock market transactions, and the ICC prohibited rate bureaus for both trucking firms and railroads from protesting independent rate filings by members. Clearly, the regulatory ice was breaking.

Transportation regulation did not protect consumers, but instead benefited the employees, executives, and shareholders of the companies being regulated.

In 1977, the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), led by two economists, chairman Alfred Kahn and member Elizabeth Bailey, instituted several changes that ultimately led to deregulation. The CAB gave airlines increased freedom in pricing and easier access to routes not previously served. The results were spectacular. Fares for tourists fell sharply, planes filled, and airline profits soared. The CAB experiences provided a striking example of how regulation had been hurting the traveling public; in response, a bipartisan coalition in Congress passed legislation in 1978 that phased out the CAB and its authority to control entry and prices.

The year 1980 was an eventful one for deregulation. The FCC eliminated most federal regulation of cable television. Economist Darius Gaskins became chairman of the ICC and economist Marcus Alexis was appointed a member of the Commission. That, in turn, "encouraged" the trucking industry to support congressional leadership of reform in

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The Price of Deregulation

this field, in the expectation that the results would be less drastic than desired by the ICC. Later in the year, a new trucking law provided much more pricing freedom to individual truckers, made entry into the market much easier, and eliminated many costly ICC restrictions—but the ICC presence was retained. Also passed in 1980, the Staggers Rail Act gave the railroads new pricing freedom.

In 1981, the executive branch took the lead on regulatory reform. Building on the groundwork of the Ford and Carter Administrations, President Reagan issued a new executive order directing the regulatory agencies under his jurisdiction to perform cost-benefit analyses prior to issuing new rules. A formal review process was placed under the auspices of the Office of Management and Budget. Also, a hold was placed on the numerous "midnight" rules that the Carter Administration had tried to rush through in its final weeks. As a result of these efforts, the rapid rate of regulatory issuances in the 70s substantially decelerated in the 80s.

Progress toward deregulation was made in other areas as well. The FCC eliminated much regulation of the radio industry. President Reagan decontrolled crude oil prices and petroleum allocations, and quietly terminated the Council on Wage and Price Stability. But the pace of deregulation slowed significantly after 1981. Although regulatory reform was one of the four original pillars of Reaganomics (along with tax reduction, budget cutting, and anti-inflationary monetary restraint), it never received as high a priority as the other three.

The trend toward deregulation has slowed since 1981. A backlash in the environmental area (fueled in part by the controversial personalities of some of the Administration's appointees) put the entire regulatory reform movement on the defensive. Nevertheless, progress continued to be made. Banking legislation enacted in 1982 allowed savings and loan associations to make more commercial and consumer loans. The interest rate differentials between banks and thrift institutions also were removed.

The Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982 permitted bus companies to change routes and fares. In 1984, the Shipping Act enabled individual ocean shipping companies to offer lower rates and better service than shipping "conferences." Also in that year, AT&T agreed to divest local operating companies as part of its historic antitrust settlement in the Justice Department.

In one key area—the regulation of foreign trade—substantial backsliding has occurred. Since 1981, the Reagan Administration has renewed or extended restrictions on the import of automobiles, meat, motorcycles, sugar, steel, textiles and many other products. Simultaneously, control over exports—often justified on foreign policy or national security grounds—has been tightened. The Administration does not seem to understand fully that deregulation is a concept as relevant to foreign trade as it is to the domestic economy.

In environmental and safety rule-making, wholesale deregulation has not been the reformers' goal. The emphasis here has been on relating the costs of regulation to their benefits and thus reducing the economic burdens of the regulatory process. Responding to the critics of its regulatory approach, OSHA eliminated or modified 928 of its "nitpicking" rules. EPA experimented with "bubble" and "offset" policies designed to give companies more flexibility in complying with environmental standards.

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In the case of OSHA and EPA policies, the courts have often been barriers to the adoption of more economically efficient regulations. For example, in 1981 a federal court ruled out cost-benefit tests performed for a proposed cotton dust standard because it held that the law did not provide for basing OSHA rulings on economic criteria. Nevertheless, the increasing support for reviewing the costliness and desirability of proposed new regulations—an approach started by President Ford, continued under President Carter, and expanded under President Reagan—has clearly slowed down the pace of federal rule-making.

Consumer Protection

The general impact of deregulation on the American economy has been extremely positive. Diminished government intervention has expanded the role of competition and market forces. Virtually every study of the changes has concluded that the results have been lower costs, increased demand, and new opportunities for both producers and consumers of the previously regulated activities.

In the case of airlines, competition has been especially rigorous; 26 new carriers entered between 1978-85 and 19 have exited. This has exerted great downward pressure on labor and overhead costs. Airline productivity has risen, average air fares have declined and volume is sharply up. The number of city pairs served by more than one airline increased by 55 percent from 1979 to 1984. While some passengers no longer have direct flights, the proportion of passengers changing planes actually decreased from 27 percent in 1978 to 25 percent in 1984.

Moreover, despite several highly-publicized crashes and near-misses, the overall record of airline safety has improved since deregulation. The accident rate declined 26 percent—from the average during 1972-78 of 2.35 accidents per 100,000 flight hours to 1.73 per 100,000 hours during 1979-86.

The recent tendency for airline consolidation, however, was not expected by many advocates of deregulation. As of the middle of 1987, a handful of the major trunklines are coming to dominate passenger air traffic. The structure of the industry is still evolving and the effect of the merger movement on price and service is yet to be determined. In any event, airlines remain subject to the scrutiny of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division.

For the railroads, revenue per ton-mile (a good measure of unit cost) has been declining in recent years while volume (total ton-miles) and operating income have increased. In the case of trucking, comprehensive data are harder to come by. Nevertheless, 65 percent of a large sample of shippers recently reported lower trucking rates and improved services. The number of new firms entering the industry has far exceeded the loss of older companies. The number of ICC-authorized carriers increased from 18,000 in 1980 to 33,000 in 1984.

Reduced regulation—ranging from outright deregulation to simplification and streamlining of rule-making—has enabled the competitive process to work better. Depositors in financial institutions have been receiving higher returns on their money, as a greater variety of companies compete for their business. Long-distance telephone users find that greater competition has resulted in lower rates,

LANDMARKS IN DEREGULATION

1968 Supreme Court permits non-AT&T equipment to be hooked up to Bell System.

1969 MCI is allowed to connect its long distance network with local phone systems.

1970 Interest rates on deposits of $100,000 and over are deregulated.

1972 FCC sets domestic satellite open skies policy.

1975 SEC ends fixed brokerage fees for stock market transactions.

Rate bureaus for trucking firms and railroads are prohibited from protesting independent rate filings.

1977 Air cargo is deregulated; airlines are given more freedom in pricing and easier access to new rates.

1978 Congress partially decontrols natural gas.

OSHA revokes 928 "nitpick" rules.

CAB is phased out, ending its control over airline entry and prices.

EPA begins emissions trading policy.

1980 FCC eliminates most federal regulation of cable TV and of consumer premises equipment.

Motor Carrier Act removes barriers for new entries and lets operators establish fares and routes with little ICC interference.

Depository Institutions law phases out interest rate ceilings and permits S&Ls to offer interest-bearing checking accounts.

Staggers Rail Act enables railroads to adjust rates without government approval and to enter into contracts with shippers.

1981 President Reagan decontrols crude oil prices and petroleum allocations.

FCC eliminates much radio regulation.

1982 New bus regulatory statute allows intercity bus companies to change routes and fares.

Garn–St. Germain Act allows S&Ls to make more commercial and consumer loans and removes interest rate differentials between banks and S&Ls.

1984 AT&T agrees to divest local operating companies as part of antitrust settlement.

Individual ocean shipping companies allowed to offer lower rates and better service than shipping conference.

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while subsidies to local service have been eliminated.

Inevitably, the wrenching changes brought about by deregulation have generated counter-pressures from interest groups that have lost government protection. Managers of many deregulated firms have seen their pay and perquisites decline to the competitive norm. Some companies have been unable to survive in the new competitive environment and have gone bankrupt or have been acquired by stronger firms.

Deregulation gave policy-makers an opportunity to curb escalating inflation without trading off jobs.

But, clearly, the economy as a whole has benefited. All economic reform involves transitional costs, which often seem to outweigh the benefits at first. Deregulation's scorecard, however, has shown nothing but pluses from the start.

The public interest would be served by another wave of economic deregulation and by renewed emphasis on reducing the burden of social regulation. In the area of economic deregulation, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission should follow the CAB into the graveyard for regulatory commissions. The consumer would be far better protected by competitive forces in the marketplace. Also, the remaining vestiges of energy price regulation should be repealed, along with the various quotas on imports. Restrictions on exports should be reduced only to instances that truly involve the national security.

Simultaneously, a fundamental revision of the statutory framework for social regulation should be undertaken. Unreasonable goals (such as "zero discharge") and unrealistic timetables (such as those governing gasoline usage) should be modified or, better yet, eliminated. Much more use should be made of market-based approaches, such as effluent fees in lieu of detailed "clean" water regulations.

Perhaps the most fundamental need is to help the public understand the limits of government rule-making. Even if it were staffed entirely with Newtons and Einsteins, the Consumer Product Safety Commission could not effectively regulate the 2 million companies producing the 10,000 products within its jurisdiction—nor could the Environmental Protection Agency clean any significant portion of the water, air, and land surfaces in and around the United States. The need is not for greater compassion, commitment, or technological expertise—those we have in abundance. What is required now is the willingness and the courage to make difficult choices among the many alternative demands for government regulation of private activity. ☎

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Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

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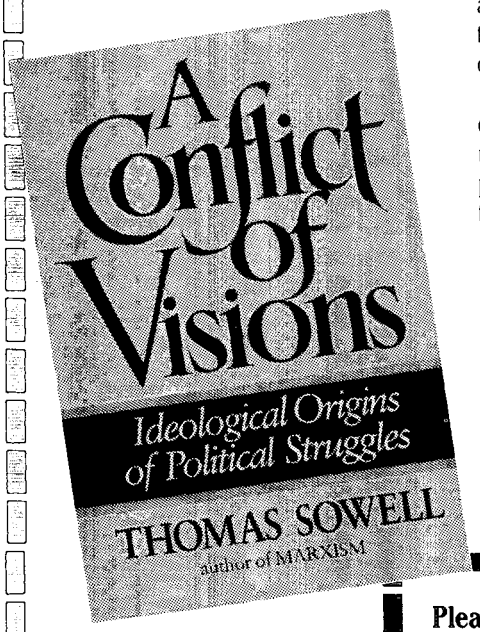
The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***
- ***Can these differences ever be resolved?***
- ***Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?***
- ***What makes some people undergo radical conversions?***
- ***How does evidence influence vision?***
- ***Are visions stronger than self-interest?***
- ***How do those with one vision regard those with another?***



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The Counter-Revolution in Legal Thought

Four Conservative Ideas Are Setting the Terms of Debate

Michael W. McConnell

The days are over when conservative judges and legal scholars could do little more than offer arguments to slow the pace of change. Today, conservative ideas increasingly set the terms of the debate. And as conservative legal thought has emerged from the shadows, it has become evident that debates *among* the various perspectives of the right—not debates between right and left—often raise the most vital questions regarding the foundations of American constitutionalism.

Traditional jurisprudential conservatives, with their focus on judicial restraint; libertarians, with their commitment to individual liberties and hostility to big government; the law and economics movement, with its rigorous pursuit of economic efficiency; and social conservatives, with their attachment to community and traditional moral values—each of these four schools of thought has developed a distinct set of legal principles. Each is a challenge and a threat to the still-powerful left-liberal orthodoxy; each has an uneasy relation with its allies on the right.

Outsiders often misunderstand this. Some imagine a right-wing monolith; others assume that differences within conservatism are signs of internal incoherence and impending dissolution. Neither view is correct. The diversity of opinion is evidence that conservative legal thought has come of age. The conservative resurgence does not mean that conservatives will impose a preordained set of legal principles upon the nation. It means that they are prepared to redirect the discussion toward the genuine issues of democracy, liberty, and the rule of law, which were so often neglected in the liberals' rush to use the courts to circumvent a political system that they perceived as resistant to social change.

Although Republican presidents have filled the last seven vacancies on the Supreme Court, conservatives have yet to see their ideas prevail, more than occasionally, in the courts. Nor have conservatives overcome their gross unrepresentation in the elite institutions of American legal education. There are *no* identifiable conservatives teaching constitutional law at Harvard, Yale, Stanford, or Columbia (despite these schools' ostensible commitment to faculty "diversity," which apparently extends only to race and gender). In fact, conservative ranks in academia have become even more depleted in recent years, as President Reagan has named many of conservatism's leading figures to the Supreme Court and federal courts of appeals. (This has caused some liberal academics to praise President Reagan, tongue in cheek, for doing more than any other recent President to "improve" legal education.)

The principal change—the main field of conservative advance—has been in the arena of legal ideas. Not long ago the leftward momentum in American law seemed unstoppable. When left-liberal ideas prevailed in the political branches, the courts would defer to the legislature. When the political branches failed to adopt the left-liberal agenda, as they often did, the courts could be persuaded that this was because of some "defect" in the political process—and unconstitutional under ever-more-nebulous notions of a "Living Constitution." Let anyone suggest that these innovations lack support in the text, structure, or intention of the Constitution, and the answer would swiftly follow: the Constitution has to "adapt to changing conditions"; it must reflect "evolving" standards of a just and decent society.

The "adaptation" and "evolution," of course, proceeded in only one direction. If anyone suggested, say, that the rights of contract, or of the unborn, or of a white male, or of a victim of crime, deserve some measure of protection, the indignant cry would go up: "you're attacking the Constitution."

No more. A new generation of scholars and Reagan-appointed jurists is asking questions that were out of bounds just 15 years ago.

Consider the subjects of legal controversy. Ten years ago the law reviews were filled with speculations about how to use the Constitution to expand welfare "rights," end capi-

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tal punishment, and uproot traditional sexual mores. Today the debate has shifted to such questions as: the weight that should be given the original intention of the Framers of the Constitution, the extent to which economic liberties should be protected by law, and the means by which moral (even religious) values in public life can be preserved.

So powerful has been the advance of conservative legal theory that we have seen a virtual reversal of roles in the legal debate. Now it is the left that cherishes stasis and precedent, that is fighting a rearguard action against change. The best evidence of conservative success is not, as yet, widespread agreement in the academy or adoption by the courts. It is the stridency and defensiveness of the reaction. Where once there was complacency, now there rages a debate.

Traditional Conservative Jurisprudence

Two principles form the heart, the common element, of conservative legal theory. First is commitment to the rule of law. Legal action and decisions must be grounded in neutral principles of general applicability. Constitutional principles do not change with the political climate; the task of judges, to the extent possible, is to discern what the law is, not to advance their policy preferences. The second principle is a democratic adherence to the consent of the governed. The legitimacy of our laws, including our Constitution, arises from the deliberate decisions of the people, made through their representative institutions. Laws, including the Constitution, must therefore be read, to the extent possible, as embodying the intentions of the people who adopted them rather than the opinions of those who hold judicial office today.

Restoring the proper relation between unelected courts and the elected representatives of the people is the foremost concern of traditional legal conservatives, exemplified by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Attorney General Edwin Meese, III. The central question is how to read the Constitution of the United States. Is the Constitution, as some contend, an elastic and indefinite document that licenses judges—in the words of Justice Hugo Black—to "substitute their social and economic beliefs for the judgment of legislative bodies"? Or does it have some fixed, reasonably ascertainable meaning, which constrains both legislatures *and* judges?

Traditional conservatives contend that the Constitution is principally a framework for democratic decision-making and not a blueprint for specific social and economic policies. Outside of a few, well-defined personal liberties set forth in the document, the Constitution allows the people to make public policy through their elected representatives. When the Court ventures into policy-making in the guise of constitutional interpretation, it oversteps the role assigned to it under the Constitution. As Attorney General Meese declared in a now-famous (in some quarters, notorious) speech to the American Bar Association: "A constitution that is viewed as only what the judges say it is, is no longer a constitution in the true sense."

In response to the liberals' open-ended view of constitutional interpretation, traditional conservatives have articulated an "interpretivist" theory, dubbed by Attorney General Meese the "Jurisprudence of Original Intent." According to the interpretivist view, when the text and structure of the Constitution leave room for doubt about its meaning, it should be read in light of the meaning ascribed to those words by the people who wrote and ratified it.

Meese's jurisprudence was greeted by derision: by journalists and politicians who deemed it "novel" or even "radical," by academics who thought it retrograde, and even by some judges, who thought it would reduce their scope of action. Joseph Biden, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, declared Meese's view "extreme and unacceptable." Benno Schmidt, Jr., then Dean of Columbia

Now it is the left that cherishes stasis and precedent, that is fighting a rearguard action against change.

Law School and now President of Yale University, dismissed Meese's opinions on the ground that Meese had found "the Supreme Court a barrier to his reactionary program for U.S. constitutional law."

Ed Meese had touched a raw nerve.

Notwithstanding the torrent of criticism in the press, the interpretivist model is neither an invention of the Attorney General nor a plot to further the right-wing agenda. Interpretivism was the dominant, the assumed, the unquestioned premise of judicial review for the nation's first 100 years, and much of its second. James Madison, the principal framer of the Constitution, stated that "if the sense in which the Constitution was accepted and ratified by the nation is not the guide to expounding it, there can be no security for a faithful exercise of its powers." Thomas Jefferson wrote that "on every question of construction, [we should] carry ourselves back to the time, when the constitution was adopted; recollect the spirit manifested in the debates; and instead of trying [to find] what meaning may be squeezed out of the text, or invented against it, conform to the probable one, in which it was passed."

Less than a generation ago, such sentiments were uncontroversial. It was common ground that the Constitution, like statutes, contracts, and other legal documents, must be read in light of the intentions of those who adopted it. Even Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., often cited as the leading judicial critic of the "Jurisprudence of Original Intent," stated in the *School Prayer Cases* (1963) that "the line we must draw between the permissible and the impermissible is one which accords with history and faithfully reflects the understanding of the Founding Fathers." For some years, however, judges and academics came to disregard the original meaning of the Constitution, in favor of their preferred schools of political, economic, and moral theory.

In 1971, Yale Professor Robert Bork, now judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, fired the opening salvo in the return campaign, in an oft-

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cited article called "Neutral Principles and Some First Amendment Problems." In it, he demonstrated that interpretivist jurisprudence follows from "the resolution of the seeming anomaly of judicial supremacy in a democratic society." The courts are authorized to invalidate decisions by the elected representatives of the people if and only if the people have, through the deliberate act of constitution making, placed certain matters beyond the cognizance of their representatives. The Court's power is therefore legitimate, Bork wrote, "only if it has, and can demonstrate that it has, a valid theory derived from the Constitution." If it "merely imposes its own value choices" it violates the democratic postulates of the Constitution. If a judge cannot conclude, in good faith, that the people have made a prior constitutional judgment against a given act of the legislature, there is only one alternative: the judge must defer to the legislature and enforce the law. It cannot matter that the judge believes the law to be unwise, unfair, or oppressive. His job is not to make moral judgments, but to enforce constitutional principles that have been chosen by others.

While interpretivists focus on democracy, libertarians on individual liberty, and the law and economics movement on efficiency, social conservatives see community as the heart of the American constitutional order.

During the past 10 years, interpretivist constitutional scholarship has quietly advanced through major re-examinations of the historical bases of such doctrines as federalism and states' rights, freedom of religion, due process of law, executive power, criminal procedure, and economic liberties. Contrary to the caricatures drawn by publicists on the left, interpretivist theorists have recognized that an honest appraisal of the original meaning of constitutional provisions, many of them drafted and ratified 200 years ago, requires painstaking analysis and legal and historical judgment. It is not a mechanical process.

Interpretivists have had to grapple with serious methodological issues. How are we to interpret a provision when the various Framers had opposing views on the issue? How much weight should we give to the Framers' opinions or actions on specific applications (as opposed to general meanings) of the provisions? For example, does the fact that the Senate galleries at the time of adoption of the Equal Protection Clause were racially segregated mean that segregation is lawful? Does the fact that the First Congress employed a chaplain mean that legislative chaplains today are constitutional? Does the fact that the *Federalist Papers* explain that executive officials may not be dismissed without senatorial consent mean that President Reagan cannot fire members of his cabinet? Serious scholars cannot assert that the Constitution must be interpreted in light of original meaning, and then retire from the fray.

Perhaps the most important sphere in which the original understanding of the Constitution has been invoked by the Supreme Court over the past 10 years to reverse its prior course has been the area of separation of powers—the way in which the Constitution maintains the mutual independence of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. From the 1930s until recently, the Court had largely disregarded these features of the Constitution, despite the fact that the Framers of the Constitution believed that the separation of powers was the most important element of the constitutional design.

Thus, the Court had approved such constitutional monstrosities as "independent" regulatory agencies, had gutted the President's ability to obtain confidential advice from even his closest aides, and had watered down the Constitution's express limitations on judicial power, extending court jurisdiction beyond actual "cases and controversies" (cases involving the concrete rights of individuals) to include generalized grievances of a political nature. (In the most flagrant case, a group of law students was given standing to challenge railroad rates for recyclable materials on the theory that the amount of recycling that takes place would indirectly affect their use and enjoyment of the national parks.)

Over the past 10 years, the Supreme Court has revived the doctrine of separation of powers in a series of important cases, often quoting at length from the *Federalist Papers* and other writings that demonstrate the original purpose and meaning of the constitutional provisions at issue. Among the most important were *Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Chadha* (1983), which invalidated the legislative veto, *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), which reaffirmed the President's power to appoint subordinate executive officers, *Allen v. Wright* (1984), which limited the right of ideological plaintiffs to challenge executive decisions that do not affect their legal rights, and *Bowsher v. Synar* (1986), which precluded Congress from assuming the power to discharge officials who perform executive functions.

On the other hand, by a 5-4 vote the Court, in *Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority* (1985), overruled prior precedent that the states retain certain constitutionally protected spheres of sovereign authority, which the federal government cannot invade. This flies in the face of overwhelming evidence of the intention of those who drafted and ratified the 1787 Constitution and Bill of Rights. The Court explained that the "principal and basic limit" on federal power over the states will henceforward be the self-restraint of Congress. Good luck, States.

Adherence to "original meaning" is not only, or even primarily, a doctrine of *constitutional* interpretation. When courts read statutes, contracts, wills, and similar legal documents it is no less important to interpret them in light of the probable intentions of those who drafted and agreed to them. It is not the business of courts to decide what the law (or the terms of contract or will) ought to be,

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but to enforce rules and agreements made by others. Judicial disregard for legislative intent has therefore become an important issue in non-constitutional cases as well.

The most extreme example is the Supreme Court's recent affirmative action decision, *Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara County* (1987). As Justice Antonin Scalia's withering dissent shows, the Court's approval of employment quotas on the basis of race and sex is precisely contrary to the express language and stated purposes of the Congress which enacted the civil rights laws. If judges viewed their function as the interpretivists do, this would settle the matter. Congress has the constitutional authority to legislate civil rights laws; the courts have no authority to rewrite them. In today's climate of opinion, however, the issue is far from settled. To quote Justice John Paul Stevens: "The only problem for me is whether to adhere to an authoritative [judicial] construction of the Act that is at odds with my understanding of the actual intent of the authors of the legislation." Stevens concluded "without hesitation" that he must "answer that question in the affirmative." Judicial "constructions," even if wrong, apparently have higher authority for Stevens than the intentions of Congress.

Left-liberal attacks on interpretivism have caused some to assume, mistakenly, that a jurisprudence of original intent would always produce substantive results that accord with conservative politics. But most important constitutional controversies have at least two sides. Conservative advocates may argue for the correctness of their positions, but principled interpretivists must be prepared to accept that in some instances they may not prevail. A line item veto is an example of an excellent idea that is probably unconstitutional (because it treats as a "bill" something that has not been approved in that form by both the Senate and the House in accordance with Article I, Section 7), and affirmative racial preference by the federal government is an example of something that ought to be unconstitutional, but probably is not (because the Equal Protection Clause applies only to the states, and not to Congress).

Nonetheless, given the nature of our constitutional heritage, an interpretivist jurisprudence will, more often than not, be consistent with a philosophy of decentralized government, judicial restraint, racial equality, and respect for life. It is no coincidence that advocates of radical social change have more to lose from a jurisprudence of original meaning than those who wish to conserve and affirm the traditional values of the political community.

Several organizations have grown up in the 1980s to support and encourage serious interpretivist scholarship, to foster debate both within the conservative legal community and with its opponents, and to give these ideas wider circulation in the law schools and the nation at large. The most prominent of these organizations is the Federalist Society. Although founded just five years ago by a handful of conservative law students at Chicago, Harvard, and Yale, it now boasts a large and influential membership in government, the law schools, and the legal profession. The special mission of the Federalist Society is to reach a new generation of conservatives in the law schools, to help them sharpen their views, and to expose students who often see no ideological diversity in their own law schools to the wider conservative legal community. Its annual symposia attract leading judges, academics, and practitioners of all shades of opinion, not to mention hundreds of law students from all over the country, and its affiliated academic journal, the *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy,* has become an outlet for lively and iconoclastic academic work.

Smaller and more controversial, the Center for Judicial Studies has also played a significant role in fostering conservative constitutional reform. Founded by Jim McClellan, a lawyer and political scientist, the Center for Judicial Studies has conducted a series of conferences on each major provision of the Bill of Rights, exploring its original meaning and comparing this with the modern Supreme Court interpretation. The Center's publication, *Benchmark,* is perhaps best known for its assault, two years ago, on the Reagan Justice Department's Supreme Court litigation strategy. In an era when the Department is frequently accused of ideological zealotry, *Benchmark* charged that it sacrificed high issues of principle in order to win cases. (Since Ed Meese has become Attorney General, we have not heard any further complaints. Nor has the Justice Department won as many cases.)

Libertarianism

A second major strain in conservative legal theory over the past 10 years is libertarianism. Libertarians understand the Constitution principally as an instrument of limited government, and support an active judicial role in preventing legislatures from overstepping the bounds of their authority. Libertarians therefore tend to be more hospitable to challenges to governmental authority, less deferential to majoritarian institutions. If the animating principle of interpretivism is democratic rule, that of libertarianism is individual rights.

In theory there is no necessary conflict between libertarians and interpretivists. If the libertarians are correct—if it was the intention of the framers and ratifiers of the Constitution to limit dramatically the authority of government over the economic and other decisions of individuals—then the two approaches coincide. The main arena of debate is the issue of economic liberties: the right to hold and use property and to make and enforce private agreements, without government interference, unless it is necessary to protect the rights of nonconsenting third parties.

Economic libertarians look to certain explicit provisions of the Constitution which protect economic rights: especially the contracts clause (no state may "impair the obligation of contracts"), the takings clause ("nor shall private property be taken for a public use without just compensation"), and the due process clauses (neither the states nor the federal government may deprive any person of "property" without "due process of law"). They buttress the plain language of these provisions with analysis of the philosophical sources of these principles: mainly John Locke, William Blackstone, and, more distantly, Thomas Hobbes. Their conclusion is that the Constitution was intended to preclude many forms of modern economic regulation that interfere with the liberties of property and contract.

University of Chicago law professor Richard Epstein has

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offered the most comprehensive account of this position. In his 1985 book, *Takings: Private Property and the Power of Eminent Domain,* Epstein argues that the words of the takings clause have one simple, unavoidable core meaning, derived from the Lockean philosophy of the Framers: that the property of one person may not be taken from him for the benefit of another. If allowed its full intended sweep, the takings clause would prohibit progressive taxation, unemployment compensation schemes, requirements of unisex annuity tables, welfare transfer payments, zoning laws, and much, much more. Despite the radicalism of his conclusions, Epstein places himself squarely in the interpretivist camp: "Judges must be able to provide authoritative interpretations of the constitutional text that are not simply manifestations of their own private beliefs about what legislation should accomplish."

One need not go as far as Epstein has to recognize that the property and contracts clauses of the Constitution are part of the document, that they were intended, like the others, to have force and effect, and that the courts' current refusal to enforce them is unprincipled. The terms of the debate are therefore beginning to shift; for the first time in a generation, courts and scholars are beginning to take seriously the proposition that contract and property are entitled to some measure of constitutional protection.

Siegan places principal reliance on "substantive due process," the same constitutional doctrine used in *Roe v. Wade.*

After 50 years in which the Supreme Court held no governmental action in violation of the contracts clause, two state laws were struck down on this ground in 1977 and 1978. One law abrogated the vesting limitations in a private pension contract, and the other retroactively changed the terms of municipal bonds. Still more interesting, in 1981, five Justices agreed, in theory, that local land use regulations can constitute a "taking of property for a public use" and therefore require compensation to the landowner. And earlier this year, a federal court of appeals in California held that a rent control ordinance may violate the takings clause.

Professor Bernard Siegan, of the University of San Diego Law School (and recently nominated to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit), reaches many of the same conclusions. His similarity to Epstein ends there. The two men could not be more different in personal demeanor or jurisprudential approach. Epstein is voluble and uninhibited; in 10 minutes he can deliver, off the cuff, a tightly organized, brilliant, original 20-minute talk. Siegan is quiet and unassuming; his persuasive power lies in his air of eminent reasonableness. Still more striking is the difference in jurisprudential approach taken by the two professors. Siegan, in his book *Economic Liberties and the Constitution,* places principal reliance on "substantive due process," ironically the same constitutional doctrine used in *Roe v. Wade,* the abortion decision. The theory of substantive due process is that certain unenumerated rights (to be determined by the judges) are embodied in the "liberty" protected by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. Indeed, Siegan relies in part on the modern Court's activist decisions, like *Roe,* to support his argument that there is nothing "unique" or "extraordinary" about the notion that substantive due process protects rights not mentioned in the constitutional text or explicitly intended by the Framers.

Both Epstein and Siegan have clashed with the interpretivist advocates of judicial restraint. In 1984, then-Judge Scalia warned in a widely noted debate with Epstein, a former colleague at Chicago, that a judiciary powerful enough to enforce Epstein's libertarian vision of government would also be powerful enough to impose "judicially prescribed economic liberties that are worse than the pre-existing economic bondage." "What would you think," he asked, of a "constitutionally guaranteed, economic right of every worker to 'just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity?' "

Siegan's style of libertarianism comes into still deeper conflict with interpretivism. Judge Bork, for example, has agreed that the intention of the contracts and takings clauses "has been a matter of dispute and perhaps they have not been given their proper force." But he claims that to return to substantive due process would work "a massive shift away from democracy and toward judicial rule." "This version of judicial review," Bork argues, "would make judges platonic guardians subject to nothing that can properly be called law."

Economic libertarianism has sparked a significant intellectual movement of its own, allied sometimes with traditional conservatives but more often independent or even at odds. Spearheading the movement is a network of libertarian think tanks, notably the Cato Institute, the Manhattan Institute, the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University, and the Liberty Fund, which sponsor, publish, and promote significant new ideas in the fields of economics, government, and law. The Manhattan Institute, for example, sponsored Charles Murray's *Losing Ground,* the most important and provocative challenge to the welfare state since the Great Society, and has taken the lead in formulating responses to the explosion in tort liability.

Especially among younger conservatives, economic libertarianism is often combined with broader social libertarianism. The commitment to limited government leads many scholars of the right to an expansive understanding of noneconomic individual liberties. Followers of the liberal left are frequently surprised by the depth of support for supposedly "liberal" positions on basic civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, association, and religion. In fact, right libertarians typically make their liberal counterparts look timid and inconsistent by opposing restrictions on speech that "liberals" tend to support: campaign finance limitations, regulation of commercial speech, prohibitions on employer speech in the course of a labor or-

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ganizing campaign, regulation of the political balance of broadcasting and cable television, restrictions on religious speech on public property, legal harassment of peaceful protestors against abortion clinics, and the like.

Libertarians also tend to oppose government restrictions on pornography and homosexual conduct, which are generally supported by social as well as many mainstream conservatives. Many also support legalized abortion—though there is a significant libertarian minority that recognizes the right of the unborn to protection against physical assault from others. Some libertarians believe in promoting these objectives through constitutional litigation. Others, who combine libertarian political principles with a more traditional conservative jurisprudence, believe that they can legitimately be attained only through the democratic process. Outsiders would be surprised to learn how many supporters of the Solicitor General's brief urging the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe v. Wade*, the abortion decision, privately favor legalizing abortion through ordinary political channels. The brief itself was resolutely devoted to issues of constitutional legitimacy; it contained not one argument based on the rights of the fetus or the wrong of abortion.

Much of the drama and excitement in the conservative legal community is generated by the tension between the libertarians and the "traditionalists." The Cato Institute, for example, has hosted fascinating exchanges between the camps: the Epstein-Scalia debate already mentioned, and a more recent confrontation between traditionalist Gary McDowell and Stephen Macedo, libertarian author of a book entitled *The New Right v. the Constitution*. Unlike the left, which seeks to engraft onto the U.S. Constitution a redistributionist and interventionist view of justice quite foreign to the ideals of the Founding Fathers, the libertarians and traditionalists on the right are carrying on a debate that has been with us from the beginning—the never-resolved tension between individual rights and democratic rule.

Law and Economics

Few developments in legal analysis are broad enough or important enough to change the face of legal education. But the law and economics movement, born some 25 years ago and brought to prominence in the past 10 years by such scholars as Richard Posner (now judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit), Ronald Coase, Aaron Director, Guido Calabresi, and Gary Becker, has profoundly affected the way we think and talk about law. Not just constitutional law, and not just law pertaining to economic transactions, but the entire corpus of law from antitrust to family law to torts to criminal law has been touched or even transformed by the law and economics movement.

The persuasive strength of law and economics comes from the analytical power of the economic model. Economics is now the preeminent social science. It generates verifiable answers to questions (not all questions, to be sure, but many); its application to law, as expressed in the law and economics movement, provides an objective basis for legal decision-making that is not dependent on the subjective will of the judge. It thus conforms to the fundamental principle of the rule of law. Particularly for those who despair of reaching conclusive answers to constitutional questions from the historical record, law and economics can serve as an alternative way to preserve judicial review without inviting judicial tyranny.

It may be a mistake to label law and economics part of the conservative movement, for it has no overt ideological element. However, it is usually associated with the right because of a shared belief in the efficiency and justice of a market based on consensual transactions rather than government fiat. Law and economics has assumed a twofold task: to explain, and thus bring intellectual coherence to, the body of common law that lies at the heart of our system of private rights; and to provide an objective basis for critique of legal arrangements that fail the test of economic efficiency.

The most obvious successes of the law and economics movement have, not surprisingly, been in the fields of business law such as antitrust and securities. The impact can scarcely be overstated. Fifteen years ago, the main effect of the antitrust laws seemed to be to protect businesses from the threat of hard competition. Small businesses were protected against large; distributors were protected against suppliers; competitive price cutting was treated with suspicion. Bork's *The Antitrust Paradox* and Posner's *Antitrust Law: An Economic Perspective* changed all that. Antitrust was reoriented toward protection of the consumer from agreements among competitors to cut production and raise prices.

Antitrust theory translated rapidly into antitrust policy, largely because President Reagan twice named prominent theorists as head of the Justice Department's Antitrust Division. First William Baxter of Stanford, then Douglas Ginsburg of Harvard (now judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit), brought a sophisticated economic understanding of the antitrust laws to the federal bureaucracy.

First, the guidelines on mergers were changed to reflect both modern developments in the measurement of market power and a greater understanding of the efficiency gains from integration. Then came a comprehensive reexamination of traditional antitrust dogmas. Perhaps the greatest contribution of law and economics to antitrust policy was the economists' demonstration that many formerly suspect business practices—such as occasional pricing below cost (previously thought "predatory") or manufacturers' setting of minimum prices for retailers (previously thought anticompetitive)—would *not* be the profit-maximizing strategy of a monopolist and can be better explained as pro-consumer, competitive behavior. While this development was decried by economically illiterate politicians on both sides of the aisle, it has been an important factor in improving American business competitiveness.

Similarly, our understanding of capital markets and the role of securities regulation has been greatly enhanced by the work of law and economics scholars such as Daniel Fischel and Frank Easterbrook (now a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit). Takeovers, for example, are now understood to be powerful market forces in favor of managerial efficiency—not, as a previous generation thought, as unproductive shuffling of

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assets. The message is clear: anti-takeover laws now on the books, such as the Williams Act, should be repealed, and new attempts defeated. Law and economics scholarship will be of vital importance as entrenched management and their congressional allies seek in coming months to "reform" the market for corporate takeovers.

In a broader sense, the law and economics movement has influenced judicial thought by emphasizing the fact that legal rules influence future conduct. A judge cannot simply apportion the gains and losses from past events, adopting a retrospective theory of justice. He must consider how future actors will respond to the decision. Comparing the Supreme Court's decisions in the 1983 Term with those in the 1973, 1963, and 1953 Terms, then-Professor Easterbrook concluded that "[t]he Justices today are more sophisticated in economic reasoning, and they apply it in a more thoroughgoing way, than at any other time in our history." To the law and economics movement belongs the credit.

The most radical subgroup within law and economics is the "Public Choice" school. Recently brought to public notice by last year's award of the Nobel economics prize to James Buchanan, public choice theory subjects government to the same skeptical private interest analysis long accorded to economic markets. The theory demonstrates that government power can and will be used to enrich powerful private interests at the expense of the public. Regulation, which masquerades as protection of the public interest, more frequently serves special interests. Public choice theorists have sparked a renewed interest in legal and constitutional mechanisms for cabining the power of majoritarian institutions. The analytical justifications for the proposed Balanced Budget Amendment, for example, are an outgrowth of public choice theory. Under the leadership of Dean Henry Manne, the law school of George Mason University is becoming an important center for the further application of public choice theory to law.

Both traditionalists and libertarian conservatives look upon the law and economics movement with a degree of suspicion, because its philosophical premises are frankly utilitarian (the greatest good for the greatest number). This creates a tension with traditional conservative scholarship, which presumes that the Constitution embodies certain fundamental political principles, which may or may not be "efficient," and leaves most other decisions to the majoritarian process, which likewise is no guarantee of "efficiency." Law and economics adherents also are in tension with the libertarians, many of whom uphold a vision of individual rights that are entitled to prevail, even when in conflict with the greatest good for the greatest number.

The conflicts, however, are not insurmountable. Because of its affirmation of the core of common law principles, which also form the historical backdrop for understanding individual rights under the Constitution, law and economics scholars and more traditional interpretivists will often find themselves in agreement, or at least in alliance against the left. And because of the efficiency of markets and systems of private ordering, law and economics scholars will—with only rare exceptions—take positions compatible with libertarian conservatives. Indeed, some libertarians, Epstein among them, justify their position on a utilitarian principle not unlike that underlying the law and economics movement.

Social Conservatives

Another strain in American constitutionalism seeks to preserve the independence of "mediating" institutions, such as families, churches and synagogues, communities, private colleges and universities, and voluntary associations, from the homogenizing influences of national life. Communitarian, or "social," conservatives tend to prefer local, decentralized decision-making over national, substantial autonomy for private associations, latitude for community standards of justice and morality, and—perhaps most of all—enhanced protection for the free exercise of religion.

While interpretivists focus on democracy, libertarians on individual liberty, and the law and economics movement on efficiency, social conservatives see community as the heart of the American constitutional order. It is vital, they believe, for groups of people (whether defined by belief, membership, or geography) to be able to establish mutually binding rules for themselves—even if those rules conflict with the views of a wider national majority or the interests of some individuals within the groups. Dissenting individuals, after all, can choose some other community, some other faith, some other organization.

Enforcement of community standards for pornography is illustrative. To the social conservative, anti-pornography laws are legitimate and important, because to allow each individual to choose for himself whether to purvey pornography denies every person the right to live in an environment free from pornography; and to set the standard nationally (for example, by a constitutional rule) would eliminate diversity and the possibility of choice from the American scene. Community control offers the only genuinely pluralistic alternative. Neither Manhattan nor Des Moines should be forced to conform to the other's mores.

Social conservative theorists, frequently of a religious bent, have focused their energies on rolling back constitutional theories of interpretation that squeeze the autonomy of communities between the twin pressures of individualism and statism. Such organizations as the Rutherford Institute, the Christian Legal Society, the Rockford Institute, and Concerned Women for America have sponsored scholarship and litigation to preserve the communitarian alternative in American life. Social conservatives are virtually unrepresented in elite academia, but they have scored major victories in court, such as the institutional right of ministers to counsel their flocks without fear of suit for "clergy malpractice," the legitimacy of tax deductions for private schools, the right of religious organizations to control their own internal governance, the right of communities to outlaw child pornography, and the right of states to refuse to fund abortions.

The most obvious contribution of social conservatives to legal thought over the past 10 years has been in the field of church and state. On this subject, the Supreme Court has heaped confusion upon confusion. It has drawn lines where no coherent line can be drawn (for example, states can provide textbooks, but not maps, to parochial schools). It has treated the establishment clause as if it were

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directly contrary to the free exercise clause. Perhaps most important, it has elevated the notion of "a wall of separation between church and state" to the point that it eclipses the more central value of religious liberty. Social conservatives have played a major part in bringing about a reexamination of these issues.

In *Widmar v. Vincent* (1981), a case litigated by lawyers connected with the Christian Legal Society, the Court decided that a religious student group has the right to meet for prayer, Bible study, and related activities on the campus of a public university. After the decison in *Widmar,* Congress passed legislation extending a similar right to high school students. In *Witters v. Department of Services* (1986), a case handled by lawyers connected with Concerned Women for America, the Court decided that a blind student could use public scholarship money to study for the ministry at a Bible college. In *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984), the Court rejected claims that a city is required to remove religious elements from a public Christmas display. The common theme of these decisions is that religion has a legitimate place in American public life—that the Constitution does not embody what Justice Arthur Goldberg once described as "a brooding and pervasive devotion to the secular and a passive, or even active, hostility to the religious."

More recently, social conservatives have won highly controversial rulings in district courts (which may be overturned on appeal) holding that public school students have a right, under some circumstances, to be excused from specific teachings that are offensive to their religion, and that public school textbooks that contain teachings against religion are no less unconstitutional than the textbooks of an earlier era that supported religion.

Social conservatives share much common ground with interpretivists, since the principal barrier to community self-determination is noninterpretivist constructions of the Constitution. The abortion decision, *Roe v. Wade,* for example, is both the galvanizing issue for social conservatives (because of its lack of respect for the sanctity of human life) and the exemplar of judicial overreaching for interpretivists (because it has no support in the text, structure, or intention of the Constitution). And the separationist decisions under the Religion Clauses are a prime example of departure from the original meaning.

The relation of social conservatives to libertarians is more complicated. Their substantive preferences about social policy frequently differ, and libertarians are often opposed to social regulation even at the local community level. Nonetheless, the two groups have a common hostility to the dominant feature of modern law—increasing national homogeneity—and also share significant common principles, such as vigorous protection of the free exercise of religion.

The Coming Challenge

The conservative legal movement, in all its forms, remains a tiny minority in the formal academic world of American law schools. Perhaps that is why conservatives, far more than their left-liberal counterparts, have created so extensive a network of supporting institutions. Significant conservative legal scholarship is often generated by entrepreneurial scholars, working at such institutions as The Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, or one of the many conservative public interest law firms. Foundations, including Scaife, Smith Richardson, Bradley, and Olin, have provided vital financial support. The Justice Department, too, provides intellectual muscle for the conservative legal movement, with former Harvard law professor Charles Fried as Solicitor General and a large contingent of youthful assistant and deputy assistant attorneys general who are evidently more interested in developing a coherent approach to legal interpretation than in acquiring minor fortunes in a New York law firm.

Although Republican presidents have filled the last seven vacancies on the Supreme Court, conservatives have yet to see their ideas prevail, more than occasionally, in the courts.

The role of the Reagan Justice Department may be both a blessing and a curse to conservative legal theory. A blessing, because Attorney General Meese brings attention to issues in a way no private lawyer or academic ever can. A curse, however, because the support of the Justice Department gives the mistaken impression that these ideas are tied to the partisan agenda of a particular administration, and that significant constitutional reform has already been achieved.

Conservative legal thought flourished during the past 10 years in opposition to the left-liberal ascendancy, which believed there were no limits to the power it could assert through the federal judiciary. As conservative thinkers become conservative judges, and as the movement changes from critic to actor, it will face a different set of problems. It must resolve or accommodate the tensions within its ranks. It must come to terms with more than 25 years of precedents, many of which, rightly or wrongly decided, have become part of our governmental framework. Most of all, the conservative movement must be prepared to overcome the temptation of political expediency that comes with judicial power. Conservatives must not forget that judicial power must be guided by an external principle of law, precisely because it is not accountable to the people in any other way.

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INSURGENTS AGAINST MOSCOW

The Reagan Doctrine Can Put Soviet Imperialism on the Defensive

ALVIN H. BERNSTEIN

Six insurgencies are now under way against Marxist-Leninist regimes allied with the Soviet Union. The United States is aiding four, sending about $250 million a year to the Afghan *mujahideen,* $100 million to the contras of Nicaragua, $15 million to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces in Angola, and $3.5 million to two non-Communist guerrilla organizations in Cambodia. In none of these countries is it likely that the resistance movements will achieve total victory, at least at current levels of American support. But the Reagan Doctrine, as the policy of supporting anti-Communist insurgencies has come to be called, has proved to be a highly cost-effective way of limiting the damage to American security interests caused by the global spread of Soviet military power in the 1970s.

Some of the Reagan Doctrine's more romantic proponents conjure visions of a rollback of the Soviet empire. The tides of history, they say, have finally turned; the logic of revolution is now on the side of freedom and democracy, and the days of Bolshevism are numbered. In truth, the Reagan Doctrine is a doctrine of last resort. It is a defensive strategy for stopping the Soviet Union from taking full advantage of its territorial gains on three continents during the 1970s. Its purpose is to keep the Soviets from being in a geostrategic position where they can prevent the United States from honoring its commitments in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.

The legacy of the Vietnam War effectively rules out the direct use of U.S. forces to combat the accession to power of Soviet-supported Communist regimes. Even if the American public had the political will to sustain direct military interventions in the third world, the armed forces of the United States are ill-equipped to carry out operations larger and more protracted than the Grenada invasion. American manpower levels are too low, without drawing heavily on reserve forces, to win such wars decisively.

Unfortunately, the experience of the 1970s shows the weaknesses of many alternatives to a strategy of direct U.S. intervention in the third world. Neither the Nixon/Ford policies of detente combined with a reliance on friendly regimes to police their own regions, nor the pious isolationism of the Carter years, prevented Marxist-Leninist insurgencies and conventional military forces from seizing power in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Not all of these insurgencies were initially financed by the Soviet Union, of course. All, however, joined forces with Moscow after taking power. As a result, the Soviets have expanded out of Europe, gradually accumulating intelligence-gathering, communications and basing facilities in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The Soviets are steadily improving their ability to project military force—and to prevent us from doing so—in places that, before the war in Vietnam, were our exclusive preserve.

The fall of Vietnam brought the Soviets naval basing facilities that have dramatically changed the balance of power in Southeast Asia. Already the Soviets are using Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang for intelligence gathering and communications in the South China Sea and Indian Ocean. In a regional conflict, the Soviets would use them either to deter Chinese intervention in a war between Vietnam and one of the ASEAN states (Thailand, for example), or to aid Vietnam should it come to blows with China. The Soviet bases in Indochina make the U.S. much more cautious in its military movements in the region, just as the Soviet presence in Syria constrains American action in the Middle East. The bases will also make it easier logistically for the Soviets to support Communist insurgencies such as the New People's Army in the Philippines. Given U.S. naval superiority in the Asia-Pacific region, Soviet bases in Vietnam are currently unable to withstand a determined U.S. attack. In the future, however, as the Soviets gradually improve their air defense system and introduce longer-range strike aircraft as well as more formidable fighter planes, the bases in Vietnam could well provide a forward operating base against U.S. forces in the Pacific.

In Nicaragua, a similar Soviet buildup is cautiously but inexorably taking place. Soviet military hardware began arriving in Nicaragua in early 1980, just after the revolution. By March, there were bilateral agreements for eco-

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nomic and technical aid. Military deliveries from the Soviet bloc rose in volume from 850 metric tons in 1980 to 19,000 in 1984 and 23,000 in 1985. Hundreds of millions of dollars of Soviet bloc capital, including $70 million for over 40 new military facilities, have been invested in Nicaragua since 1979.

The arming of Nicaragua is not simply a threat to its immediate Central American neighbors. Bases in Nicaragua will give the Soviets military capabilities in the eastern Pacific that they already enjoy in the Atlantic and Caribbean as a result of their Cuban installations.

Consider the unprecedented construction and upgrading of Nicaraguan airfields. The Sandinistas inherited from Somoza's National Guard the remnants of a small, antiquated air force that was significantly weaker than the air force of neighboring Honduras. Since 1982 Nicaragua has received more than a dozen MI-8 helicopters and, recently, at least a dozen MI-24/Hinds, the world's most advanced and fastest armed attack helicopters. Meanwhile, the country's airfields and runways are being expanded to accommodate advanced jets. Revetments already constructed in Nicaragua are designed for jet aircraft and resemble those at Cuba's Kawama airfield, a base for supersonic MIG fighters.

Nicaragua has not yet acquired MIGs because the Reagan Administration has stated plainly that it would regard their introduction as an unacceptable escalation of the regional arms race, possibly provoking American raids to destroy the aircraft. The eventual stationing of MIGs in Nicaragua is a virtual certainty, however, completely in keeping with the Soviets' incremental strategy elsewhere. Already 50 Nicaraguan pilots have received training on MIG jet fighters in Bulgaria, while reports from Cuban defectors indicate that MIGs are being stored in Cuba for eventual delivery to Nicaragua. The combat radius of MIG aircraft would include all Central America and the northern tier of South America. Jet fighters operating from Nicaragua would be within striking distance of the Panama Canal, whose traffic would be seriously disrupted by attack.

The most impressive airfield construction in Nicaragua has been at Punta Huete, 12 miles northeast of Managua. This new airfield has a 10,000-foot runway, the longest in Central America. It will be able to accommodate any aircraft in the Soviet inventory, including the Bear-D reconnaissance plane and other long-range aircraft for anti-submarine warfare. At the moment, the Sandinistas lack the petroleum, oil and lubrication facilities and the fuel farms to support Bear-D operations, but construction has continued at a significant rate and adequate support facilities will almost certainly be coming. The Soviets will therefore soon be able to conduct long-range reconnaissance flights over U.S. military installations in San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco just as they currently operate similar flights along the Atlantic coast from Cuba. These deployments will divert U.S. attention and resources from more critical tasks because such flights have to be escorted.

Soviet Fish Story

Even more valuable strategically to the Soviets than their airfields in Nicaragua is the possibility that Soviet ships and submarines might eventually operate from Nicaraguan ports on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Before completing any bilateral military agreements with Castro, the Soviets insisted on a fishing agreement that allowed them to operate in Cuban waters. The Soviets likewise secured fishing privileges in Nicaraguan waters as well as an agreement allowing them to operate a floating workshop for ship repair off Nicaragua's Pacific coast. They are also building a fishing village at San Juan del Sur on the southwest Pacific coast. Such activities might sound innocuous, but Soviet fishing vessels gather intelligence as well as fish, and their fishing villages usually turn into facilities for resupplying and servicing warships and submarines.

No Soviet naval base construction has yet taken place in Nicaragua, but the ports of Corinto on the Pacific and El Bluff on the Caribbean could easily be used by Soviet naval vessels. The pattern of gradualism that the Soviets followed in Cuba and are now pursuing with Nicaraguan airfields suggests that Nicaraguan port, naval, and naval air facilities will be developed in the next decade. In time, Soviet ships, submarines, and fishing vessels converted for intelligence gathering could use both Pacific and Caribbean ports just as they now operate from Cuba.

The Reagan Doctrine is a doctrine of last resort. It is a defensive strategy for stopping the Soviet Union from taking full advantage of its territorial gains on three continents during the 1970s.

The Soviets already maintain naval and naval air facilities in Aden, Ethiopia, Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Syria, and the Seychelles, as well as Cuba and Cam Ranh Bay. They may be close to obtaining facilities on the South Pacific islands of Vanuatu and Kiribati. The addition of Soviet naval facilities in Nicaragua would substantially limit the worldwide operational capabilities of the U.S. Navy, and therefore the ability of American land forces to deter Soviet aggression in the Eastern Hemisphere. America's ability to meet its overseas commitments in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East currently depends on U.S. control of sealanes in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. But this control will soon be seriously threatened by the global projection of Soviet naval and naval air power.

With Nicaraguan naval bases, the Soviets would be able to gather valuable intelligence and oceanographic data for both their submarine and anti-submarine warfare operations in the eastern Pacific. They would find it easier to mine the Pacific coast of the U.S. from Nicaragua than from Vladivostok or Petropavlovsk (the Soviets have the largest, most sophisticated mine inventory in the world, much superior to ours). Submarine berths in Nicaragua,

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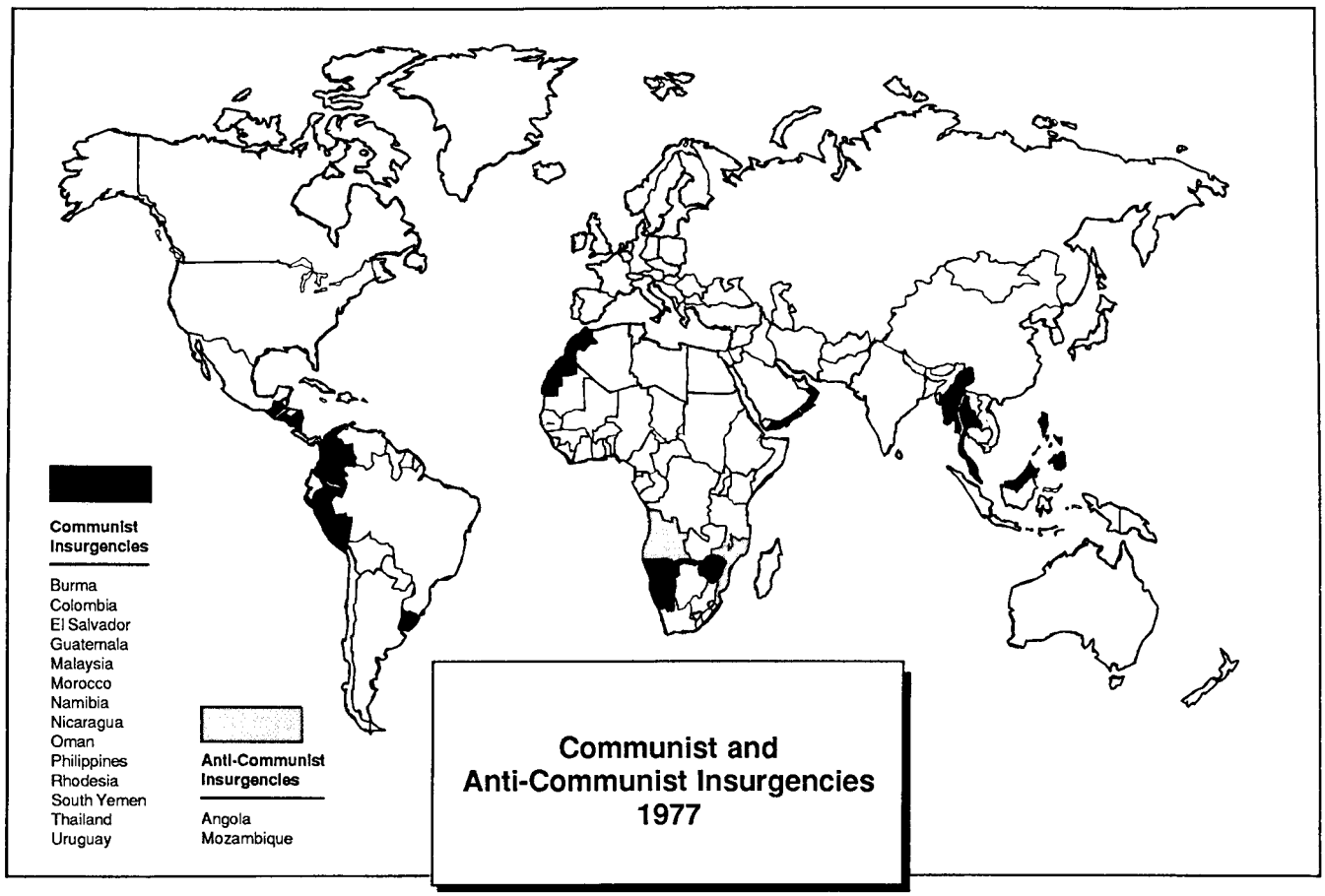

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should they be installed, could join with those already in Cuba to play an important strategic role in time of war, helping the USSR to interdict the sea-lanes of communication in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean, and the eastern Pacific. The Soviets have sought to establish a presence effective enough to threaten any possible NATO plans to relieve Europe from the United States. Soon, Soviet submarine forces may be in a position to disrupt the flow of raw materials through the Caribbean, the Panama Canal, and the Atlantic choke points. Recently retired Soviet fleet admiral Sergei Gorshkov confirmed that this would be Soviet naval strategy:

> [The Soviets should try] . . . to achieve superiority of forces over the enemy in the main sector and to pin them down in the secondary sectors. . . . [They should do this as a] means to achieve sea control in a theatre or a sector of a theatre. . . . The enemy will be paralyzed or constrained in his operations . . . thereby hampered from interfering with our own operations.

Bases in Nicaragua will give the Soviets military capabilities in the eastern Pacific that they already enjoy in the Atlantic and Caribbean with their Cuban installations.

Low Cost Strategy

The Reagan Doctrine thwarts this Soviet strategy at little cost and without the direct use of American troops. By providing relatively modest support to indigenous insurgents in Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia, the United States has helped prevent Marxist regimes linked with the Soviet Union from establishing full control over their countries. So long as the governments have to cope with armed resistance, they cannot concentrate all their military resources on fomenting revolution elsewhere, and the Soviets will be unable to rely on secure bases for their long-term global strategy.

Supporting these guerrilla movements substantially raises the costs of empire and global power projection for the Soviets at a time when they are suffering serious economic problems. Over the last four years, while we have made a single $15 million payment to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, the Soviets have provided more than $2 billion in military assistance to the Communist regime in Angola and its 35,000 Cuban mercenaries. U.S. aid to the Afghan mujahideen is helping tie down well over 100,000 troops in Afghanistan. Vietnam is costing the Soviets nearly $2 billion a year in military and economic aid. As for Nicaragua, Fred C. Ikle, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, has

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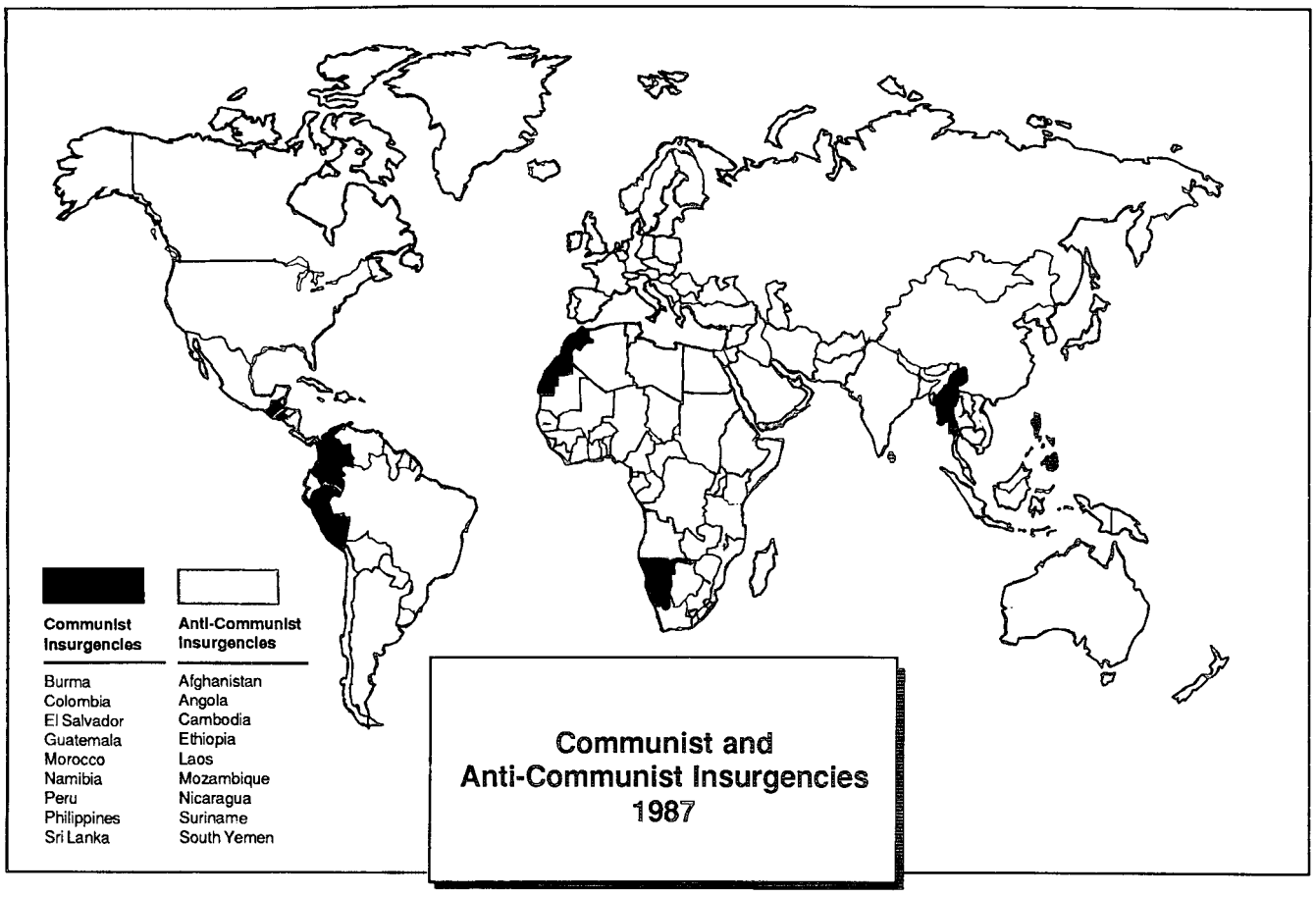

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estimated that the Sandinistas have received approximately eight times more in military aid than the contras have since October 1984. His figures include money funneled to the contras both from third parties and as a result of the unorthodox arms sales to Iran.

Whatever the Soviets spend to prop up unpopular regimes in Kabul, Managua, Phnom Penh, and Luanda takes up resources that otherwise could be used for more aggressive military purposes elsewhere. The Soviets also pay a substantial diplomatic price for their involvement in counter-insurgencies. The Chinese, explicitly, and the ASEAN nations, implicitly, have refused to deal with the Soviets as long as they keep their troops in Afghanistan and continue to support the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

The Reagan Doctrine is also an indispensable strategy for confounding the Soviets' long-term planning. Just as American operations out of Subic Bay and Clark Air Field in the Philippines could become vulnerable to sabotage by the New People's Army, so support for the contras, UNITA, and the mujahideen jeopardizes Soviet reliance on bases in Nicaragua, Angola, and Afghanistan.

The possibility of victory by anti-Communist insurgents should not be ruled out. The Marxist governments of Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, and Cambodia are increasingly unpopular. And U.S. aid for the insurgents makes their victory more likely, not only by providing them with necessary military and medical supplies, but also, particularly in Nicaragua, by preventing the Soviets and their allies from going too far lest they provoke a direct U.S. response.

But the Reagan Doctrine serves important strategic objectives for the United States, even if none of the anti-Communist insurgencies achieves total victory. The United States, by virtue of its wealth and history, is a global power whether it wishes to be or not. In confronting the global expansion of Soviet strategic capability, the U.S. seems to have ruled out direct use of its forces in major third world conflicts, and regional allies seem to lack either the strength or will to intervene. The Reagan Doctrine offers only limited gains for limited costs, but what other courses are left? What alternatives to the Reagan Doctrine exist, apart from the short-sighted, small-minded, pious isolationism of the policy's critics, who would have us ignore the moral responsibility conferred by our position in the world?

Supporting guerrilla movements substantially raises the costs of empire for the Soviets at a time when they are suffering serious economic problems.

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EMASCULATING AMERICA'S DETERRENT

Only SDI Can Avert Disaster

ROBERT JASTROW AND JAMES FRELK

In 1956, when Khrushchev threatened to intervene in the Suez crisis with nuclear rockets, NATO Commander Gruenther replied, "Moscow will be destroyed as night follows day," and Khrushchev backed away. In 1973, as Soviet troops prepared to enter the Yom Kippur War, Nixon and Kissinger faced Brezhnev down with the threat of a nuclear attack.

In 1979, when Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan, Carter held a meeting with his advisers, considered a nuclear alert, and decided to withdraw from the Olympics.

What had changed between 1973 and 1979? What was the Carter Administration afraid of? Figures on the growth of the Soviet nuclear arsenal suggest the answer. In 1973, the Soviets had no militarily effective nuclear warheads—the accurate kind that can land within a few hundred yards of a hardened missile silo or communications center and destroy it. Accurate warheads are the key to the use of a nuclear arsenal for intimidation, because if used in sufficiently large numbers in a first strike, they can cripple the other side's nuclear forces, and prevent him from effective retaliation. The United States had more than 1,000 accurate warheads in 1973. The yield of these warheads was not very large, but the Soviet targets were not very well protected either. As a consequence, we could cripple the Soviet nuclear forces, but they could not cripple ours.

But in 1974, the Soviets started deploying accurate warheads, and in 1977—a critical year of transition—they reached parity with the United States in this important category of strategic weapons. By 1979, they had 3,450 accurate weapons capable of a first strike—more than twice as many as the U.S.

The result, according to then Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, was that by 1979 the Soviet Union could destroy 95 percent of our Minuteman ICBMs in their silos. They could also, Secretary Brown reported, "destroy our bombers by a barrage attack . . . so that even if the bombers got off the ground, they may not escape."

When Nixon and Brezhnev signed the ABM Treaty in 1972, the Americans thought they had obtained a promise from the USSR that it would not menace the survivability of our retaliatory forces in this way. The essence of MAD and the ABM Treaty, after all, was the guaranteed ability to devastate the adversary's homeland if he attacked. In fact, the Americans felt so strongly about this point that they added a "unilateral understanding" to the ABM treaty, in which they said a prime purpose of the negotiation was to "reduce threats to the survivability of our respective retaliatory forces." Failure to reach an agreement on that point, the American negotiators said, "would constitute a basis for withdrawal from the ABM treaty."

But the ink was hardly dry on the ABM Treaty when the Soviets began to slide into their silos the first of a new generation of Soviet ICBMs, more accurate than previous Soviet ICBMs, and good enough to take out our missile silos, command and control centers and other top-priority military targets. The Soviets kept on building these accurate, first-strike weapons until, in 1979, as Secretary Brown noted, they had enough of them to place at risk a large fraction of our nuclear deterrent.

And the Soviet arsenal continued to grow. By 1981, the number of accurate Soviet warheads had reached nearly 5,000, leading Secretary Brown to comment, in his annual report to Congress, on "the degree of emphasis in Soviet military doctrine on a war-winning nuclear capability." In one of the great understatements of all time, Dr. Brown called this development "troublesome."

The biggest of the new Soviet missiles, and the biggest ICBM in existence, is the SS-18. The SS-18 is twice as large as an MX, weighs 200 tons, is as high as a 10-story building, can carry at least 10 warheads—each with destructive power exceeding half a million tons of TNT—and has sufficient fuel in reserve to "cross-target" the entire United States. SS-18 warheads are very accurate—better than the Mark 12A warheads which have been the mainstay of the U.S. ICBM arsenal for years. The SS-18 is certainly the most fearsome weapon of mass destruction ever devised by man.

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UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Soviet first strike capabilities made it more difficult for the U.S. to stop the invasion of Afghanistan

At last report, the Soviets had 308 SS-18s in the field, carrying more than 3,000 warheads. They also had 360 SS-19s and 150 SS-17s, with warheads of comparable accuracy. The number of accurate warheads known to us in this arsenal totals nearly 6,000. The destructive power residing in the deployed SS-18s alone is greater than the destructive power of the entire U.S. missile force.

And the Soviet ICBM buildup continues, apparently without letup. The USSR is now deploying the first of its new fifth-generation missiles, the SS-25, and is about to deploy the 10-warhead SS-24. Both missiles are mobile. The SS-24, which is the size of an MX, is designed to be carried around the country on a railroad flatcar. The SS-25, about the size of a Minuteman, can be carried on the back of a truck.

The mobility of the new Soviet missiles makes a mockery of offers by Soviet leaders to reduce their nuclear forces. We will never be able to tell how many SS-24s and SS-25s the Soviets have because, as James Hackett, former Acting Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, points out, the SS-24s and the SS-25s, and SS-20s as well, "can be in bunkers, hangars, factories, tunnels, garages—U.S. satellites can't see or count them."

A few months ago the USSR successfully tested a follow-on to the SS-18, apparently even larger than the SS-18, and with even more accurate warheads. There are also reports of follow-ons to the SS-19 and SS-20 (which is accepted by the U.S. as a European and Asian "theatre" missile, but can target the United States if one or two of its three warheads are left off). Finally, the Department of Defense has reported signs of a *sixth* generation of ICBMs—follow-ons to the SS-24 and SS-25, and also mobile.

The CIA estimates that by the mid-1990s these new missiles can increase the size of the Soviet ICBM arsenal from around 6,000 warheads, its "official" value today, to between 10,000 and 12,000 warheads—all accurate, fast, first-strike weapons capable of destroying U.S. military targets. Around 1995, with this combination of accuracy, prompt delivery and great numbers of warheads, the Soviets will have a first-strike force of terrifying potential.

What security needs in the Soviet Union require this enormous number of ICBM warheads? The Soviet arsenal has long since passed the limits of any reasonable nuclear force aimed solely at deterrence of an American attack. If deterring a nuclear attack were the main goal of Soviet military planners, they would have created a relatively small force of ICBMs, as the U.S. did, and placed the bulk of their resources in second-strike weapons—submarines and bombers. Most (80 percent) of the U.S. arsenal consists of second-strike weapons, either too inaccurate (on submarines) or too slow (on bombers and cruise missiles) to use in a first strike.

With the Soviets, it was the other way around. Most (75 percent) of their warheads are on ICBMs—fast, accurate, and usable in a first strike.

The critical asymmetry between the U.S. and the USSR in numbers of first-strike warheads is masked by figures published now and then for the total numbers of warheads in the two arsenals. The U.S. strategic arsenal has a total of

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about 11,000 strategic nuclear weapons, in the form of ballistic missile warheads, bombs, and cruise missiles. The Soviet arsenal has a total of about 10,000 strategic nuclear weapons. But the USSR has a first-strike arsenal; the U.S. does not. The difference can mean curtains for America.

But is the Soviet arsenal really big enough for a first strike? In building a first-strike capability, large numbers of warheads are as important as accuracy and prompt delivery; a small number of warheads, even if accurately placed, will only irritate an adversary without greatly diminishing his power to retaliate. How many accurate warheads are required by the USSR to mount a crippling attack on the nuclear forces of the United States?

American capability for nuclear retaliation is concentrated in some 3,000 key military sites in the U.S. The USSR, targeting two warheads on each site for a higher probability of destruction, would need 6,000 accurate ICBM warheads to cripple our retaliatory power. The Soviet nuclear arsenal projected for the mid-1990s will have sufficient numbers of accurate warheads to do that. After the first strike, the USSR will still have thousands of warheads left for a punishing attack on American cities—if we should be so rash as to attempt to retaliate with the remnant of our nuclear forces surviving the first strike.

The mobility of the new Soviet missiles makes a mockery of offers by Soviet leaders to reduce their nuclear forces.

Does the U.S. have a first-strike force? The Soviet target list is about the same length as our own—a few thousand key sites. The American ICBM arsenal contains 900 warheads with an accuracy and a destructive power comparable to that of the 6,000 first-class Soviet ICBM warheads (although none comes close to the lethality of the SS-18). When the planned force of 50 MXs is deployed, it will add another 500 accurate warheads to the U.S. arsenal for a total of 1,400. The remainder of the U.S. arsenal is too inaccurate to be useful against well-protected Soviet targets.

Assigning two warheads to a target, this relatively modest U.S. arsenal of 1,400 accurate weapons can take out 700 targets in the USSR—a minor dent in the Soviet target list. The U.S. arsenal has the accuracy, but not the necessary numbers, to cripple the nuclear forces of the Soviet Union. Mounting a first strike against the Soviet Union with that arsenal would be a suicidal act.

The U.S. plans to deploy larger numbers of accurate warheads in the 1990s, on the Midgetman ICBM and also on a radically new type of submarine-launched missile called the D-5. The D-5 compensates for the inaccuracies of a launch from a submarine by taking a navigational fix on a star or an overhead satellite after it has been launched and correcting its course in midflight. The course corrections are supposed to make the D-5 nearly as accurate as the best ICBMs.

The Midgetman ICBM will not have much effect on the strategic balance because Midgetman warheads are very expensive ($80 to $100 million per warhead compared to $20 million per warhead for the MX) and the Defense Department only plans to buy 500. But the D-5 is another story. Thousands of D-5 warheads are slated for deployment in the 1990s. If they work out as expected, they should be very effective against an SS-18 silo or any other immovable target.

But therein hangs a sad tale for U.S. defense planners, for the USSR has already taken steps to negate the effectiveness of the D-5—as well as the MX and the Midgetman—by putting its newest ICBMs on mobile platforms—trucks and flatcars. Unfortunately, while the extraordinary precision of a D-5 or an MX makes it a deadly weapon against an SS-18 in a fixed silo; it is almost valueless against a target that can quickly be moved a few thousand yards down the road.

And the USSR has also gone to great lengths to protect a second set of highly valued targets—its own leaders—from the newest U.S. weapons. More than 1,500 hardened fuhrerbunkers have been built for 175,000 key Party and government officials—the entire top stratum of Soviet leadership. Some of the older bunkers are close to the surface and vulnerable, but the newest ones are deeply buried and probably safe from the most accurate of the new U.S. warheads. The one under the Kremlin is reported to be a mile underground.

The U.S., on the other hand, continues to keep its command structure—both facilities and people—in relatively soft, fixed locations at or near the surface, and vulnerable to the SS-18 and the new fifth-generation Soviet ICBMs. The vulnerability of the U.S. command structure is likely to continue. Imagine the outcry if President Reagan built a bomb shelter a mile under the White House.

So, thanks to Soviet foresight, even the highly accurate MX, Midgetman, and D-5 will not change the strategic picture very much. The Soviets will be able to place our important assets at risk in the 1990s, but we will not be able to place theirs at risk, because by the time the new American weapons are deployed, all the Soviet targets of prime value will be either readily movable or deeply buried.

Are Submarines Vulnerable?

At this point, the thoughtful observer will object that the menace of the Soviet nuclear arsenal has been exaggerated. After all, we still have our bombers and ballistic missile submarines.

It is true that the effectiveness of the U.S. bomber force has been compromised by the Soviet ICBM buildup, as former Secretary of Defense Brown noted; in fact, considerably less than a third of our bombers are likely to escape the first wave of Soviet ICBMs, and of those that escape, a still smaller fraction will penetrate the massive Soviet air defenses, which now include 10,000 surface-to-air missiles and 12,000 air defense radars.

But the ballistic missile submarines are more effective, and make a better case. One Trident submarine carries

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enough warheads to attack every large city in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the newest U.S. submarines are very quiet and hard to find, so the Soviets cannot count on eliminating them in the first wave of their attack, as they can with our land-based missiles. At the present time, ballistic missile submarines are nearly invulnerable.

Navy sources maintain that this invulnerability will persist into the indefinite future, but other defense planners are less optimistic. Promising lines of research have developed for the detection of submerged submarines by other methods than tracking the sounds they emit. In principle, these methods work no matter how quiet the submarine is.

For example, a submerged submarine creates a wake—a disturbed pattern of waves and wavelets that trails behind it on the ocean surface. There is evidence that the wake can be seen from space, using satellites equipped with a new type of "synthetic aperture" radar. Radar images of this kind obtained from SEASAT, the NASA ocean satellite, are reported to have revealed wakes of unknown origin, that could not be explained by the movements of surface ships, but could have been produced by submerged submarines.

The problem of submarine vulnerability is compounded by the fact that the USSR now has more than 200 attack submarines, but only 10 to 12 U.S. Trident submarines will actually be at sea at any one time in the 1990s. (Submarines in port would be a relatively easy mark for Soviet first-strike warheads.) With that ratio, Soviets can assign five or even 10 attack submarines to each Trident to trail it from the time it leaves port, keeping it in a box from which it cannot readily escape.

Finally, analysts of Soviet missile capabilities note that the Soviet intercepting missiles, the SA-12s, are small enough to be placed on ships. If armed with nuclear weapons, they may be very effective in destroying our submarine-launched ballistic missiles while these are still in their boost phase. Nuclear-tipped SA-12s promise to be a deadly weapon against U.S. submarine-launched missiles, and one to which the United States appears to have no response at present.

Taking all these factors into account, the Scowcroft Commission on Strategic Forces concluded, "Over the long run, it would be unwise to rely so heavily on submarines as our only [survivable] ballistic missile force." And in a rare display of frankness, a senior Pentagon official said two years ago, "It is a matter of time before our confidence in the invulnerability of the submarine is degraded." Informed opinion agrees that while submarines are safe today, and may remain so for a few years to come, they will not be able to hide in the oceans forever. Exactly when the submarine loses its cloak of invisibility is anyone's guess. However, it is not a question of whether, but when.

Soviet ABM Breakout

Anxiety over the extent of Soviet preparations for a first strike has been intensified by the discovery that the USSR also seems to be preparing a nationwide ABM defense. This discovery confronts defense planners with the frightening prospect of a Soviet first-strike force that can diminish considerably the American capacity for retaliation, and a Soviet ABM defense that could block whatever counter-attack we might manage to get off the ground afterward with our crippled forces. The banning of this nightmarish possibility was, of course—for the Americans, at least—the driving force behind the ABM Treaty.

The ABM Treaty notwithstanding, technical reports received from the Defense Intelligence Agency and the CIA indicate that the USSR has acquired nearly all the elements needed for a defense against the ballistic missiles that would constitute the main instrument of American retaliation. The Soviet Union appears to be poised for a breakout from the Treaty.

Small, accurate nuclear weapons make it possible to carry out a surgical first strike—a surprise attack that decapitates the opponent's command structure and destroys the bulk of his forces.

Some experts say there is no cause for U.S. concern, because the Soviet ABM defense is not very effective. It is by no means as good as the defenses the SDI is designing for the 1990s; it is certainly not good enough to stop a massive U.S. first strike—if we were to launch one.

But the American arsenal being what it is, a first strike by the United States is of vanishingly low probability. American defense planners are not worrying about how well Soviet ABM defenses might block a U.S. first strike; they are focused on deterring a Soviet first strike—a possibility that the Soviet ICBM buildup brings to the forefront of their attention. For that purpose, the American planners rely on the threat of massive destruction of the Soviet Union in a retaliatory second strike. And against a U.S. retaliatory second strike, with weakened and diminished forces surviving a Soviet first strike, the Soviet missile defense could be exceedingly effective.

At present, the Soviet ABM defenses are deployed only around Moscow, in accordance with the restrictions of the ABM Treaty. However, the CIA has confirmed existence of production lines for turning out the components of the Moscow ABM system—intercepting missiles, radars and so on—in large quantities.

Right now, the output of those production lines is only going into the defenses around Moscow, as far as we know, but new sites can be put into operation in a matter of months. By the early 1990s—four or five years from now—these components can be deployed across the USSR, defending every key Soviet target against U.S. ballistic missiles.

Concern over the intensity of Soviet ABM preparations was heightened last year by the discovery of three huge "battle management" radars—each the size of a football field—in the western USSR near Poland. These radars

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close the last major gap in a network of similar radars ringing the USSR. Six were already known; the last three to be discovered make a total of nine. Each of the nine has the range and precision needed to pick up oncoming U.S. warheads as they approach the USSR, determine which target each warhead is headed for, and alert individual ABM sites in that warhead's path so that they can send up a missile to intercept it.

As a result of congressional actions, it appears the United States will have no defense—and certainly no defense based in space—against Soviet ICBMs in the 1990s.

The battle management radars are the long pole in the Soviet ABM tent, because they take many years to design and construct. But the Soviets started working on these radars a long time ago. In fact, they must have started designing them while they were still negotiating the ABM Treaty. The three just discovered near Poland are probably the last in the network. They should be finished around 1991.

The famous Krasnoyarsk radar is one of the radars in the Soviet ABM network. It looks across 2,000 miles of the USSR from central Siberia to the northeast, and covers the approach corridor for U.S. ICBMs from the missile fields in the western states. It also covers the launch of missiles from U.S. submarines in the Bering Sea. The Soviets say the Krasnoyarsk radar is for tracking space objects, but its design makes it almost useless for that purpose. The CIA says the Soviet claim is "preposterous."

The network of nine battle management radars, combined with the facilities for mass production of ABM components, will give the Soviet Union the means for setting up a nationwide ABM defense in short order, whenever it judges the moment to be propitious for an overt breakout from the ABM Treaty. According to intelligence reports, that could be in the early 1990s.

Any single one of these Soviet ABM activities would be a cause for concern to the U.S., which is still attempting to honor the ABM Treaty. But the ensemble of Soviet ABM programs is more menacing than the individual items; Robert Gates, Deputy Director of the CIA, calls it "significant and ominous."

The overall pattern of Soviet activities in recent years—the ICBM buildup and the burgeoning ABM capability—suggests that the USSR is intent on positioning itself for a first strike. As a consequence of the resultant threat to the effectiveness of our retaliatory forces, the theory of deterrence by Mutual Assured Destruction is collapsing like a house of cards. If the Soviets have a sufficient number of accurate missiles to wipe out the bulk of U.S. nuclear forces in a surprise attack, and they have a missile defense and an air defense adequate to handle the ragged second strike the United States might get off the ground in the aftermath of that attack, they will not be deterred by the fear of retaliation, because we will not be able to retaliate.

The Time to Strike

Dramatic advances in the accuracy of warheads in recent years have contributed further to U.S. fears of a Soviet first strike. Zbigniew Brzezinski has explained why these technical developments increase the chance of a missile attack on the United States.

That story starts in World War II. When the Germans were raining V-2s on Britain, they were pleased if a rocket came within 10 miles of its target. The launch crews used to point their V-2s in the direction of London and hope for the best. Later, the accuracy of ballistic missiles improved to a mile, then to half a mile, and then to a quarter of a mile. For the SS-18 and the Minuteman III, it is 200 to 250 yards. For the MX, warhead accuracy is about 150 yards. That is, half the time an MX warhead will land within 150 yards of its target, after a flight of thousands of miles.

The remarkable precision of these weapons has an important consequence. It makes it possible to achieve the military objectives of a nuclear attack—destruction of the adversary's missile silos, command and control centers and other sites vital to his effective retaliation—with quite small nuclear weapons. The record demonstrates, in fact, that as accuracy has improved, the size of nuclear weapons have gone down markedly.

In 1962, the average explosive power of the nuclear weapons in the U.S. strategic arsenal was three megatons (three million tons of TNT). Today it is seven times smaller. The average explosive power of the weapons in the Soviet arsenal was 4⅓ megatons in 1970; today it is five times smaller. The total destructive power of the U.S. arsenal is a quarter of what it was in 1962; the total destructive power of the Soviet arsenal, is down by about 40 percent since 1970.

These trends toward greater warhead accuracy and smaller nuclear weapons have been steady over several decades. Now, enter the Pershing 2, recently deployed in Germany. The Pershing 2 is a quantum leap beyond the technology of earlier missiles, because its warheads are "smart." That is, they have computer "brains" and radar "eyes" that view the terrain below, compare what the eye sees to a map of the target area stored in the computer's memory, and then adjust the warhead's course so that it steers itself into the target.

Prior to the advent of the Pershing 2, ballistic missiles carried dumb warheads. Once a dumb warhead has been pushed off its ICBM, its course is set and cannot be changed. The accuracy of the warhead in reaching its target depends on how accurate a push it received at the start. The finest dumb warheads presently deployed are carried by SS-18s and MX's. The 150-yard accuracy of the MX is probably close to the ultimate that can be achieved with a dumb warhead.

But the Pershing 2 warheads, with their brains, eyes and ability to change their own courses, can do much better than an MX warhead. Half the time, a Pershing 2 warhead will land within 35 yards of its target. The Pershing 2

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warhead is truly a revolutionary development in missile technology. It has been said, with only mild hyperbole, that it can fly through any window in the Kremlin.

Still, the Pershing 2 is only the beginning of the new revolution in warhead technology. Experts see the possibility of warhead accuracies coming down to a few yards or even feet. They forecast the destruction of key military targets by nuclear charges so small as to produce essentially no unwanted blast damage or radioactive fallout.

At first, this trend to accurate warheads and smaller nuclear weapons seems like a good thing, because it means no wholesale destruction in a nuclear attack, and no civilian carnage. But Dr. Brzezinski has pointed out another, and less reassuring, meaning.

When nuclear warheads were all large and very destructive, he notes, a nuclear first strike was "messy and unpredictable . . . not an attractive option for either side." But small, accurate nuclear weapons are usable. They make it possible to carry out a surgical first strike—a surprise attack that decapitates the opponent's command structure and destroys the bulk of his forces, leaving him "strategically crippled, capable of only a spasmodic, disorganized and strategically aimless response—or none at all."

For the military planner, Dr. Brzezinski concludes, highly precise nuclear weapons make the dreaded first strike "a viable option."

When would the attack come? According to the conventional wisdom among American analysts, a nuclear exchange would develop out of crisis escalation, as in the Mideast crises of 1956 or 1973, or the Cuban missile crisis. As tension mounted, the U.S. would place its forces on nuclear alert; bombers would be loaded and dispersed; the entire fleet of ballistic missile submarines would be put to sea; the U.S. command structure would be geared to a prompt decision when word came that the dreaded ballistic missiles were on their way.

But the conventional wisdom is almost certainly wrong. Why would an adversary pick such a moment as this to attack, when the chances of success are minimal? It would be far better to wait until the crisis has been defused by diplomatic concessions, weary U.S. forces have been stood down from their alert, and American leaders are relaxed in the euphoric belief that the threat of nuclear war has passed. That would be the time to strike.

The Need for SDI

The mind recoils from the possibility of the "bolt out of the blue"—a surprise nuclear attack, launched when America's guard is down, after a skillful Soviet campaign of deception and disinformation. Yet, as Dr. Brzezinski notes, in commenting on the developments in nuclear weapons in recent years, "One can disregard this possibility only at the greatest peril."

In the ongoing, and often abrasive, argument over the Strategic Defense Initiative, this is one of the main issues that separates SDI supporters from their opponents. Opponents of SDI, by and large, do not believe that the Soviet Union can launch a successful first strike, because they do not agree that U.S. retaliatory forces are vulnerable to a surprise attack; they feel that U.S. deterrence of a Soviet attack by the threat of retaliation will remain effective for many years to come.

In our view, their confidence is contradicted by the events of the last 10 years: the new thrusts in anti-submarine warfare; the trend toward accurate, small-yield nuclear weapons; and most important, the Soviet ICBM buildup, coupled with alarming signs of Soviet preparations for an overt breakout from the ABM Treaty by the early 1990s.

As matters stand today, powerful congressional forces are opposed to the deployment of a missile defense in the 1990s. The SDI budget has been cut to levels that postpone the achievement of test objectives by several years, and a major effort is underway in Congress to force a type of compliance with the ABM Treaty that would preclude demonstrations of the first-generation space-based defenses regarded by the Department of Defense as feasible for deployment in the 1990s.

As a result of these congressional actions, it appears that the United States will have no defense—and certainly no defense based in space—against Soviet ICBMs in the 1990s. That is unfortunate, because a space-based defense located on satellites orbiting over the Soviet Union, that can shoot down the Soviet ICBMs as they rise from their silos, would have a paralyzing effect on Soviet first-strike planning. Since the planner cannot tell beforehand which missiles and warheads will be shot down and which will get through, he cannot target key sites, such as missile silos and command posts, and be confident of their destruction.

Space-based defenses, even if their effectiveness is limited, have a toxic effect on first-strike planning.

Thus, the *sine qua non* of a successful first strike—the guaranteed destruction of the adversary's retaliatory forces—is denied to him. Space-based defenses, even if their effectiveness is limited, have a toxic effect on first-strike planning.

This is not true of the "point" defense favored by some members of Congress for the protection of our MX silos and other key military sites. The Soviet planner, confronted by a point defense surrounding a small number of critically important sites, can assign five, 10 or even 20 warheads to those sites to be confident of their destruction; and yet he will have consumed only a very small part of his arsenal on those targets. But if he is confronted with a space-based defense, and feels it is essential to achieve the same level of confidence in destroying these key sites, he must multiply *his entire arsenal* by a factor of five, 10 or 20, since he does not know beforehand which particular missiles in his arsenal will be shot down. Since the present Soviet arsenal cost some $700 billion, that would mean an expenditure of trillions of dollars.

This is only true of the space-based defense, not of the ground-based "point" defense. That is one of the main reasons why Defense Secretary Weinberger has insisted on

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the inclusion of a space-based layer in even the earliest defenses under consideration by the Defense Department for deployment.

The outlook for the next 10 years is not promising. The congressional politics of missile defense—and especially the opposition to early deployment of a defense from prominent Members of Congress—are such that in the early 1990s the Soviet Union is likely to have a lethal combination of a first-strike attack force and a defense against retaliation—and the United States will have neither. In these circumstances, we believe it will be clear to all that the American government cannot protect its citizens from a nuclear attack, and is no longer a nuclear superpower. The consequences, writes Robert Gates, Deputy Director of the CIA, will be "awesomely negative for stability and peace." We suggest that this development will be seen by the world as the greatest military reversal the United States has ever suffered, with catastrophic political consequences certain to follow.

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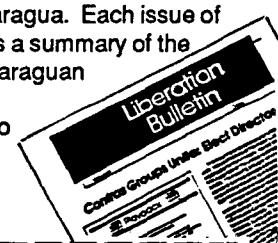

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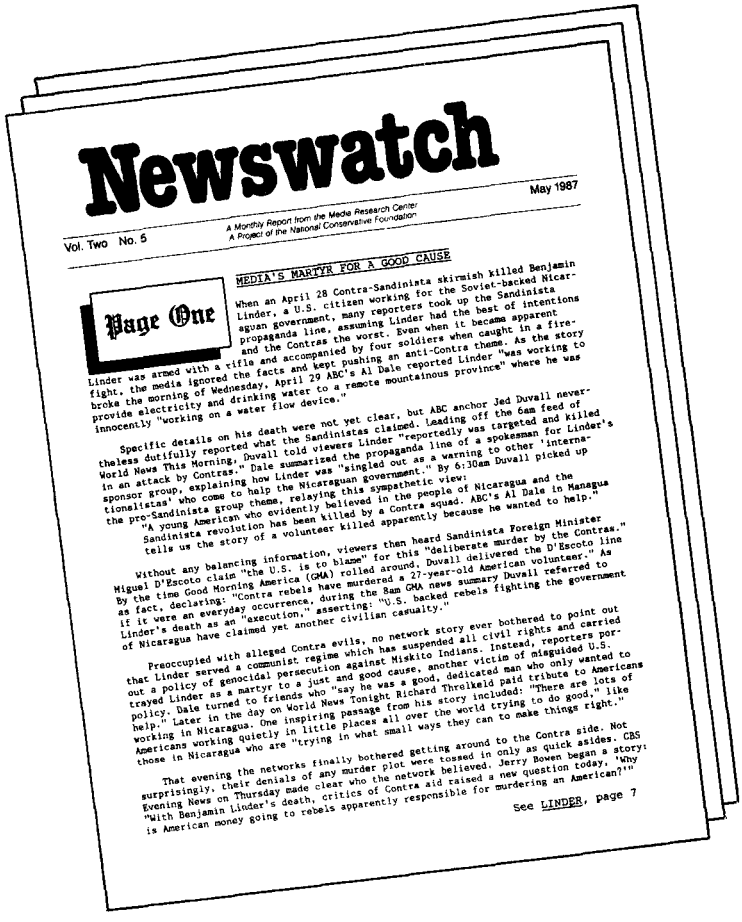

Newswatch

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Page One

MEDIA'S MARTYR FOR A GOOD CAUSE

When an April 28 Contra-Sandinista skirmish killed Benjamin Linder, a U.S. citizen working for the Soviet-backed Nicaraguan government, many reporters took up the best of intentions propaganda line, assuming Linder had the best of intentions and the Contras the worst. Even when it became apparent Linder was armed with a rifle and accompanied by four soldiers when caught in a fire-fight, the media ignored the facts and kept pushing an anti-Contra theme. As the story broke the morning of Wednesday, April 29 ABC's Al Dale reported Linder "was working to provide electricity and drinking water to a remote mountainous province" where he was innocently "working on a water flow device."

Specific details on his death were not yet clear, but ABC anchor Jed Duvall nevertheless dutifully reported what the Sandinistas claimed. Leading off the 6am feed of World News This Morning, Duvall told viewers Linder "reportedly was targeted and killed in an attack by Contras." Dale summarized the propaganda line of a spokesman for Linder's sponsor group, explaining how Linder was "singled out as a warning to other 'internationalistas' who come to help the Nicaraguan government." By 6:30am Duvall picked up the pro-Sandinista group theme, relaying this sympathetic view:

"A young American who evidently believed in the people of Nicaragua and the Sandinista revolution has been killed by a Contra squad. ABC's Al Dale in Managua tells us the story of a volunteer killed apparently because he wanted to help."

Without any balancing information, viewers then heard Sandinista Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto claim "the U.S. is to blame" for this "deliberate murder by the Contras." By the time Good Morning America (GMA) rolled around, Duvall delivered the D'Escoto line as fact, declaring: "Contra rebels have murdered a 27-year-old American volunteer." As if it were an everyday occurrence, during the 8am GMA news summary Duvall referred to Linder's death as an "execution," asserting: "U.S. backed rebels fighting the government of Nicaragua have claimed yet another civilian casualty."

Preoccupied with alleged Contra evils, no network story ever bothered to point out that Linder served a communist regime which has suspended all civil rights and carried out a policy of genocidal persecution against Miskito Indians. Instead, reporters portrayed Linder as a martyr to a just and good cause, another victim of misguided U.S. policy. Dale turned to friends who "say he was a good, dedicated man who only wanted to help." Later in the day on World News Tonight Richard Threlkeld paid tribute to Americans working in Nicaragua. One inspiring passage from his story included: "There are lots of Americans working quietly in little places all over the world trying to do good," like those in Nicaragua who are "trying in what small ways they can to make things right."

That evening the networks finally bothered getting around to the Contra side. Not surprisingly, their denials of any murder plot were tossed in only as quick asides. CBS Evening News on Thursday made clear who the network believed. Jerry Bowen began a story: "With Benjamin Linder's death, critics of Contra aid raised a new question today. 'Why is American money going to rebels apparently responsible for murdering an American?'"

See LINDER, page 7

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GREAT LEAP FORWARD

Capitalism Spreads to the Third World

ALVIN RABUSHKA

Ten years ago most strategies for economic development in the Third World were state-directed and state-controlled. Development policy typically consisted of high taxation to promote national savings through government-directed capital formation; a dependence on foreign aid and massive foreign borrowing (despite official rhetoric of political and economic independence); the establishment and operation of state-owned enterprises; foreign exchange controls; limitation on overseas investment or ownership to avoid the appearance of neocolonialist influence; high tariffs, as well as quotas and other quantitative restrictions on imports; export levies; state control of businesses; the creation of agricultural marketing boards to procure domestic agricultural output on a compulsory basis at below-market prices; and, in some instances, outright central planning.

Socialism seemed especially entrenched in Africa, where only Botswana, Swaziland, and the Ivory Coast actively pursued a market-based strategy of development. Glimpses of capitalism might also be found in the Cameroon, Gabon, and Zimbabwe. But the general tendency throughout the continent was state domination of economic life.

The heavy hand of state economic intervention could also be found throughout the Middle East, Central and South America, and South and Southeast Asia. Only the "four Asian tigers" or "four Asian dragons"—Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea—adhered to capitalism as a strategy for development. They were growing so fast that economists were induced to define a new category of developing nation known as newly industrializing country, or NIC. But the conventional wisdom was that these were small countries with authoritarian governments and a Confucian work ethic, and that their experience would not be applicable elsewhere in the Third World.

In 1977, the foreign aid programs of the United States, the World Bank, and other donor countries and organizations reinforced the state-centered development strategies of recipient countries. Donors repeatedly stressed the objectives of redistributing income from rich to poor people and increasing spending on social programs to meet the needs of the poor. They provided grants and soft loans to inefficient, state-owned enterprises and encouraged massive commercial borrowing to finance major expansions in the scope and size of public sector activities. Partly as a result of the aid programs, many Third World countries increasingly found themselves mired in debt they could not pay, their stagnant economies overlaid by bloated public sectors that frustrated and suppressed private sector initiative.

What a difference a decade makes! Statism still dominates, but it is on the defensive, and is increasingly recognized as the cause of many Third World countries' debt crises. Today the Third World throbs with capitalism. In Buenos Aires, Calcutta, and Chiang Mai, profitable private companies running smaller buses provide better services than heavily-subsidized government-owned or regulated bus companies. In the Ivory Coast, a profitable private water company provides the most reliable urban water service in sub-Saharan Africa. Private firms do a more cost-effective job in maintaining the national road networks in Argentina and Brazil compared with government departments in previous years. In Bangladesh, the government has privatized wholesale distribution of fertilizer. Governments throughout the world are exploring ways of selling state-owned industries to private ownership, loosening trade restrictions, lowering tariff barriers, emphasizing private sector development, and reducing high marginal rates of taxation that discourage work, saving, and investment.

By 1987 the record of the "four Asian tigers" was unmistakable. Never before in history had four nations moved from Third World to First World status in one generation. Average annual growth rates of 9-10 percent lifted per capita income in Korea from $82 in 1962 to about $2,500 in 1987; in Taiwan, from $143 in 1960 to above $4,500 in 1987; in Hong Kong from $180 in 1949 to more than $7,000 in 1987; and in the 20 years since Singapore became an independent state in 1965, from $470 to $6,800.

Research on the magic formula of growth in the Pacific Basin is now an intellectual growth industry. Staffan Burenstam Linder, Dean of the Stockholm School of Economics and member of the board of governors of the

ALVIN RABUSHKA *is Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. His most recent book is* The New China: Comparative Economic Development in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong *(Westview, 1987).*

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Swedish central bank, suggests that growth among the capitalist countries of the Asian-Pacific region influenced and stimulated the Chinese reform movement and has had an electrifying effect on other countries:

> There has been a demonstration effect on both economic thinking and economic policy making. . . . And there is a leverage effect: socialist setbacks have provided a painful contrast that has directed the attention of those who are disillusioned to the advantages of other systems.

The donor community has also shifted its emphasis. In 1987, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund all agree that as a condition of further assistance, Third World nations should be encouraged to adopt growth-oriented policies. AID, for example, set up a Bureau for Private Enterprise to encourage the growth of private sector activity in the Third World, and international donor organizations are stressing growth-oriented policy reforms as a condition of continued assistance. Four recent issues of the World Bank's annual *World Development Report* (1983-1986) have criticized the failed socialist policies that are so prevalent in the Third World, recommending, in their place, greater reliance on private enterprise and private investment, the elimination of state-owned enterprises and marketing boards, privatizing state-owned monopolies, swapping debt for equity, reducing subsidies to parastatals, reducing tax rates, liberalizing tariffs and other import restrictions, and so forth. The full list of recommendations constitutes a modern day *Wealth of Nations* for the Third World.

Man of the Year

The biggest transformation, of course, has been in the People's Republic of China. Since 1978, Deng Xiaoping, twice honored as *Time*'s "Man of the Year," has embarked his country on the greatest free-market experiment in the history of the world. Known as pragmatic in economic affairs, Deng and his economic colleagues are dismantling the most comprehensive system of socialist planning and practice ever attempted in the Third World in favor of an emphasis on freer markets, freer prices, private enterprise, and the replacement of the rule of man with the rule of law.

From the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, until Deng Xiaoping reversed course on economic policy in 1978, a handful of central economic planners attempted to make almost all decisions concerning consumption, production, employment of inputs, distribution of income, and investment. The planning authorities had control over all physical productive resources, including land, buildings, machinery, and other capital goods. They directly or indirectly controlled all enterprises, farms, and factories. They assigned a production target to each farm and factory, and told it how much of each good to produce. They controlled all sources of supply, including raw materials and machinery for both agriculture and industry. They assigned labor by directing workers to different factories or assigning individuals to specific farms.

Planners also controlled the consumption of final goods and services either by setting the price of goods sold through public retail outlets, or by rationing goods. They set factory wage rates, which remained unchanged between 1957 to 1977.

Between 1952 and 1975, state control over the economy grew to encompass 97 percent of industrial fixed assets, 63 percent of all employees, and 86 percent of gross industrial output. State-owned retail outlets constituted 92.5 percent of retail sales. In the countryside, communes collectively owned 90 percent of cultivated land and irrigation equipment. Between 1950 and 1975, the Chinese Communist party and government virtually destroyed the entire private industrial and urban retail sector. Political control by party cadres was all-pervasive to insure rigid compliance with state directives.

The results were disastrous. The consensus of scholars and such institutions as the World Bank is that total factor productivity in Chinese industry declined at an average annual rate of 2-3 percent between the early 1950s and the late 1970s. China's own leading economists acknowledged that despite a quarter-century of heavy investment in national industry, per capita consumption of grain, vegetable oils, and cotton cloth in 1978 was below the levels of the early 1950s.

The death of Mao Zedong and the arrest of the ultra-leftist radicals in 1976 signaled the point of reversal in economic policy. After Deng Xiaoping consolidated political power in 1978, he set in motion a series of agricultural, industrial, commercial, financial, legal, and other reforms that have dramatically expanded the scope and role of private activity in China's economy.

China's flirtation with capitalism began with the agricultural responsibility system, under which collectively-owned fields are allocated to individual families. Households enter into 15-year contracts with the local brigade or commune. In return for the exclusive rights to farm leased plots, they agree to meet specific output quotas and payments. Households retain the rights to consume their excess production or sell it on the open market with no tax liability—a zero marginal tax rate on above-quota production. Under the new system, households, families, and individuals own the output of their work, thus injecting incentives into rural production. All restrictions have been removed on private plots, individual livestock breeding, household sideline occupations, and rural trade fairs. Farmers can own their own tractors and trucks, and enter into contractual arrangements to plow fields, transport goods, sell their services to outside parties, and set up rural processing and other sideline industries. Despite a constitutional prohibition on private ownership of land, the party tolerates transfers of contracted land among peasant households as a positive concomitant of specialization and commercialization. Peasants may even hire their fellow peasants as laborers.

From 1979 to 1985, the value of agricultural output rose at more than double the rate between 1953 and 1978. Rural per capita incomes more than doubled. Total grain harvest leapt from 300 million tons in 1978 to over 400 million tons by 1984; China became a grain exporter for the first time in its history. Large increases in grain were dwarfed by even larger annual increases in cotton, oil-

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Socialism in China

bearing crops, sugar cane and beets, tea, and animal protein products.

The overwhelming success of rural reforms encouraged Deng Xiaoping to try to scrape the barnacles off state-encrusted industry. Old policies of state allocations of inputs and outputs have been superseded by new policies of enterprise autonomy, responsibility in the hands of factory managers, flexibility to vary prices, retention of enterprise profits, replacement of profit delivery to the state by tax payments, gradual reduction of public monopolies, competitive bidding in contracts, and elimination of state procurement of consumer goods. China's Marxist economists have fashioned a new language of "levers" of price, tax, credit, and wages to replace central allocation of resources.

China's leaders have introduced additional capitalistic reforms. They have permitted privately-run wholesale trading centers, denationalized shipping companies and returned them to their former owners, reduced consumer subsidies, established several foreign trade zones to attract investment, granted enterprises the freedom to engage in cash transactions, and replaced capital grants with interest charges. Within the past year the state has given managers the freedom to sign renewable contracts with new workers, linking pay with performance, and the right to dismiss nonproductive staff. Limited experimentation is presently under way with incipient capital markets in the form of share and bond markets.

Decentralizing a command economy has not been a smooth, unwavering process. Attempts to enlarge capital and labor markets met growing opposition in 1986 as rising inflation accompanied decontrol of prices. Legislation to grant enterprises greater autonomy in hiring and bankruptcy has been temporarily shelved and the People's Bank of China has restricted the incipient share and bond markets to approved state enterprises.

In August 1986, I had the opportunity to discuss China's current economic reforms with leading economists of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. They predicted that future economic reforms would unfold in labor and capital markets, which would allow these two resources to be used more efficiently. They also expressed concern that industrial reform would be far more difficult to achieve than rural reform. In particular, removing price distortions and reducing subsidies might result in inflation and unacceptable losses in too many state-owned enterprises. They were fully aware that China severely lagged the Asian tigers, and hoped they would have future opportunities to study the tigers firsthand to see what lessons could be transferred to the mainland.

If the success of capitalism in the four Asian tigers proved irresistible to mainland China, then perhaps China's preliminary good fortune with capitalism has tempted other socialist countries to follow suit. Within the past year, Vietnam has begun to experiment with market reforms and reports of growing market activity are emanating from Cambodia. In the Soviet Union, Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has announced a new policy of "glasnost" (openness) which has economic reform among its objectives. It is no accident that Hungary, which gives its citizens the largest measure of economic freedom among the Eastern bloc nations, has outperformed its fellow Communist nations of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany.

Capitalism's New Pearl

A major transition from socialism to capitalism has also taken place on the pearl-shaped island of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean, an Asian democracy without the Confucian heritage of the "four dragons." Sri Lanka's history dates back 2,500 years to its original settlement by the Sinhala people from the South Asian subcontinent. They were followed in turn by the Tamils from South India, Arab traders, Portugese spice merchants, Dutch traders, and lastly the British. Ceylon (as the island was named under British rule) developed as a plantation economy, exporting tea, rubber, and coconuts. Its modern political evolution developed from the westernization of its indigenous elites in the early decades of the 20th century, culminating in peaceful independence in 1948.

After independence, socialism and state control steadily replaced private ownership and the market economy. The export-oriented plantation sector was heavily taxed to finance free education, free medicine, free water, sanitation, subsidized food, and cheap transport. When the plantations were finally nationalized in the mid-1970s, the public sector controlled more than 90 percent of the economy. As economic stagnation set in, further government efforts to redistribute income resulted only in a redistribution of poverty. The government of socialist-leaning Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1970-1977) ruled through a perpetual state of emergency. Her economic policies beset the economy with import controls, foreign exchange controls, price controls, and a plethora of state industrial and trading monopolies. She nationalized land, banks, and businesses. The results were food and other shortages, black markets, and widespread evasion of controls and taxes. Her strategy of import substitution fostered inefficient, overprotected industry. Low food prices and food rations for all, regard-

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less of income, eroded producer incentives, even for those subsisting on their own land. A massive public sector smothered the remains of private sector initiative, and a great deal of the country's talent decided to migrate overseas. The country's external reserves were run down and massive budget deficits, financed by new money creation, brought a ruinous inflation. By 1975 economic life had virtually ground to a halt.

In the 1977 elections, held 10 years ago, economic issues supplanted the traditional communal rivalry between the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic communities. Promising a new direction in economic policy, the United National Party, under the leadership of J.R. Jayewardene, swept to a landslide victory and set out to reverse 30 years of socialist economic policies.

The new finance minister, Ronnie de Mel, charted his government's free-market course in his annual budget addresses. Over the next few years he reduced marginal tax rates, eliminated the fixed overvalued exchange rate, reduced and eliminated many state industrial and trading monopolies, curtailed consumer and producer subsidies, eased import restrictions, and established a free trade zone. In his speeches he often cited such distinguished economists as Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Ludwig von Mises. But the most important inspiration for the government's liberal economic policies was the nearby example of Singapore.

In sharp contrast with Singapore's incredible economic growth, Sri Lanka's per capita income had stagnated for years below several hundred dollars. Sri Lanka's Jayewardene became close friends with Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, and sent his island's public officials to Singapore for training. Virtually every official I interviewd in Sri Lanka in 1981 talked about "the Singapore model of development" as the basis of Sri Lanka's future. One treasury spokesman told me about the hostile reaction he received from the *Times of India* during a visit to India when he explained Sri Lanka's reduction in marginal tax rates. The *Times* vigorously opposed marginal tax rate cuts in India lest it turn the country away from socialism. The paper may have had reason for concern: Rajiv Gandhi sharply cut marginal tax rates after he replaced his mother as India's leader.

Although the recent outbreak of communal conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities has marred the island's tranquility, the new free-market economic policies have worked their wonders. Between 1970 and 1976, annual economic growth averaged a meager 2.9 percent. Annual per capita income had stagnated at $190 and unemployment reached 25 percent of the labor force. Under Jayewardene's leadership, annual economic growth averaged 5.9 percent between 1977 and 1985. Per capita income almost doubled to $350 by 1985 and the unemployment rate was cut in half. The public sector's share of the economy fell from 70 percent to less than 35 percent, reflecting rapid growth in private sector job creation. The investment rate doubled from 14 percent of gross domestic product in 1977 to 28 percent by 1985. And, despite cuts in tax rates, tax revenues from incomes and profits increased five-fold due to higher levels of economic activity. Sri Lanka has also attracted more than $350 million in new foreign investment. If these trends continue for several more decades, Sri Lanka will join the other Asian tigers.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Capitalism in Hong Kong

Central America's Tigers

I delivered my first public lecture on Hong Kong's free-market approach to economic development to a gathering of businessmen in Rochester, New York, in 1971. Although my audience listened with interest, they pointed to the existence of squatters on the hillsides of Hong Kong—which many had seen for themselves while touring the Far East—as clear evidence that the British colony's capitalistic economic system had clearly failed to meet the needs of Hong Kong's four million people. I tried to explain that squatters and ill-housed residents were due to massive emigration from mainland China of refugees seeking freedom and opportunity in Hong Kong, a severe shortage of land, and the difficulty of building hundreds of thousands of public housing units in a short period of time, but garnered little sympathy from my audience.

By 1980 the same lecture played better. My audience generally acknowledged that capitalism had wrought an economic miracle in Hong Kong. They maintained, however, that Hong Kong was unique and that its economy could not serve as a model for other developing nations.

I expanded my lecture to include Taiwan, Singapore, and Korea. Several million Americans have toured East and Southeast Asia and are aware of the burgeoning prosperity in the four Asian tigers. Those who first saw the region during the Second World War and its aftermath are especially impressed with the region's economic transformation. No one seriously questions the success of these East and Southeast Asian capitalistic economies, but skeptics question whether the wholesale adoption of the four tigers' economic policies by such giant economies as China and India, or the non-Oriental cultures of Africa and South America, will bring double-digit growth rates. I hear a variety of reasons why the experience of the four Asian

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tigers is not transferable to other developing nations: China is much bigger; Africa and Latin America lack the Confucian values of thrift, hard work, and a love of education; or that declining international assistance—so crucial to Taiwan and Korea during the 1950s—and rising protectionism means that export-oriented policies will not work as well in the future as they have in the past. (I find it hard to reconcile the notion that Latin Americans have a "mañana" view of human nature with the reality of millions of them entering the United States, legally or illegally, for the sole purpose of work.)

Perhaps the current generation of skeptics is correct in claiming that the four Asian tigers are unique and cannot serve as models for other developing nations. But then again, perhaps they are wrong. In 1986 I received a delegation of economic advisers to the premiers, prime ministers, and presidents of eight French-speaking, sub-Saharan African countries. They unanimously acknowledged that their countries had stagnated for two decades as a result of socialist policies and that future growth depended on the injection of market forces and foreign direct investment into their economies. They were converts to capitalism. Indeed, their primary concern was how to persuade foreign firms and individuals to invest in their countries, since most of them had unremittingly denounced capitalism during the past two decades, in the proccess labeling foreign investors as imperialists and neocolonialists.

In May 1987, I had the opportunity to witness firsthand the glimmerings of a possible Central American "tiger," which, if successful, could set an example for all of Latin America. I attended a conference in Guatemala on "The Economic Miracle: Myth or Reality for Central America?" The conference was organized by a coalition of Guatemalan organizations committed to free-market economic policies—the Chamber of Private Enterprise, the Center for Social and Economic Studies, the Foundation for the Development of Guatemala—along with counterpart groups from El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Having planned for a maximum of 250 conference participants, the organizers were overwhelmed with 400 enthusiastic men and women from both the private and public sectors in Guatemala, along with a modest representation of Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Costa Ricans, and Hondurans. Had this gathering been held 10 years ago, no more than 50 persons might have attended. Had it been held 20 years ago, total registration would have been no more than 10 to 20.

Thirty years ago the free-market movement in Central America was the vision of one man, Dr. Manuel Ayau, an American-trained engineer. Committed to the idea of a free society, he attracted a handful of followers. In the early 1970s, he and his colleagues put their ideas into action, establishing a private institution of higher learning, Francisco Marroquin University, in a modest two-story building in the center of Guatemala City. This private university expanded into one neighboring old house after another, and built additional classroom space in a tiny compound to keep pace with rapidly expanding enrollment. In 1987, the faculty, staff, and more than 3,000 students of Francisco Marroquin Univeristy moved into a beautiful new campus.

What is so important about this story is that every student at Francisco Marroquin University must complete a sequence of courses on the principles of the market economy and the ethical and philosophical foundations of a free society. The latter course consists largely of the writings of Nobel laureate Friedrich Hayek, including his *Constitution of Liberty.* During the past decade, thousands of Francisco Marroquin graduates have entered public and private life in Guatemala and elsewhere in Central America. Their professional qualifications give them comparative advantage in employment compared with graduates of state-run universities; they also understand, and are committed to, the principles of economic and individual freedom.

If Guatemala has its Manuel Ayau, Peru has its Hernando de Soto, whose Spanish-language book on the "informal sector" underground economy has stirred up enormous interest in Latin America. De Soto shows that Peruvians understand that the road to economic development and prosperity is through individual opportunity in the market economy; if the state regulates every area of economic life, the people have no alternative but to create their own informal, free-market sector as the vehicle to personal advancement. I have no doubt that other Central and South American countries have their incipient free-market leaders, whose ideas must be increasingly persuasive in a region that vividly demonstrates the failures of state ownership and regulation of economic activity. If the past decade of intellectual growth and progress in Guatemala is any indication of the appeal of capitalism, the 20th anniversary issue of *Policy Review* should contain stories of a new generation of "tigers" springing up throughout Latin America.

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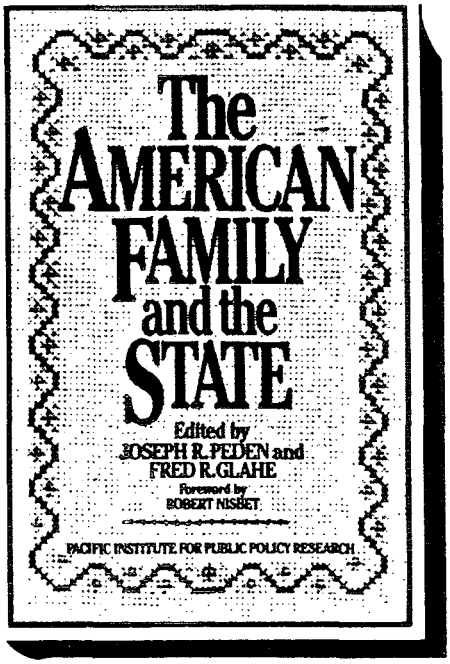
FAMILY, SCHOOLS, AND THE STATE



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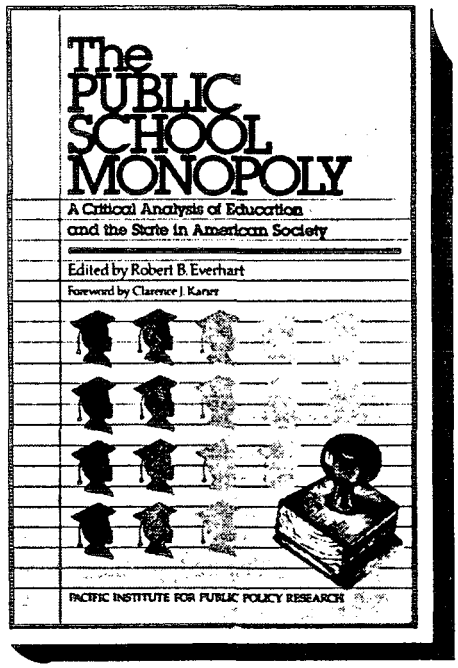

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TORY HALLELUJAH

Margaret Thatcher's Decade

GEORGE SZAMUELY

If it is true, in Irving Kristol's words, that the "greatest political event of the 20th century is the death of Socialism" then Margaret Thatcher must be one of the century's greatest leaders. She came to power 18 months before Ronald Reagan, three-and-a-half years before Helmut Kohl, and four years before François Mitterrand's historic rejection of the program of the Left. As the result of her second landslide reelection this June, she will have the opportunity to govern until 1992, by which time she will have been Britain's longest serving Prime Minister this century. Though Ronald Reagan has brought about a resurgence of American national pride and has engineered extensive tax cuts that have revived the U.S. economy, his contribution to the collapse of the collectivist ideal as a source of inspiration for today's political movements pales by comparison with Mrs. Thatcher's. The transfiguration that she has wrought in Britain's political and economic culture has astonished not merely her many detractors, but also many of her political allies, who, back in 1979, would have laid few bets on the chances of her success.

In 1977, two years after Mrs. Thatcher assumed the leadership of the Conservative Party, she published her political program, *The Right Approach to the Economy.* As a statement of principles and aims it was not a particularly original document. The kinds of policies she was proposing to implement had been promised and subsequently forgotten by a number of Tory politicians since 1945. Looking back from the perspective of 1987, that she has accomplished only some of the things she had set out to do 10 years ago, may seem to outside observers as a small achievement. But not when they begin to appreciate just how incurable the famous "British disease" seemed to be. Low productivity, low geographical and social mobility, low investment in manufacturing, abysmally poor industrial relations, and a diminishing share of world trade had become the unalterable facts of life in Britain.

Though the issue of how to reverse the country's industrial decline had come up in election after election, politicians of every hue were equally unsuccessful in putting their prescriptions into practice. Partly this was because Britain's poor economic performance was less the result of prevailing economic conditions than of prevailing cultural conditions, in particular, a widely-shared hostility to profits, industry, privately-owned wealth (unless it was several centuries old), and excessive mixing of the social classes. Moreover, it was easier to conduct political debate on grand issues such as socialism *versus* capitalism, nationalization *versus* denationalization, the state *versus* the individual, than to face up to the fact that the rapidly shrinking taxable base of the economy was making such disputes increasingly irrelevant. It is always easier to adapt oneself to decline then to attempt to reverse it.

The Right Approach to the Economy was full of the pieties that one had come to expect of Conservative politicians: the market was to determine the price of money, goods, and labor; the budget deficit (or the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement as the British call it) was to be reduced substantially; large chunks of public sector industries were to be returned to the private sector; pay, price, dividend, foreign exchange, and bank lending controls were to be abolished; the monopoly privileges enjoyed by the trade unions were to be ended; criteria of profitability were to be imposed on the nationalized industries. Not all of these proposals are specifically addressed to the question of industrial decline; some were the expression of widespread alarm that the individual's freedom to determine his own life was becoming increasingly constricted as the state took an ever-larger share of his income and savings to finance public expenditure. In 1960, public expenditure had been 33 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP); by 1979 it had gone up to 43 percent. Not only was this contributing to the growth of a *dirigiste* economy, but was giving rise to inflation, as governments, unable to raise through taxation the revenues necessary to fund the public sector, began to manufacture money. By early 1975 the rate of inflation was 25 percent.

Consequently, when Mrs. Thatcher came to power in 1979 most observers thought it only a matter of time—12 months, at most—before she would have to abandon her program and adapt herself, as her Tory predecessors did, to the facts of life. Britain's decline was thought to be irreversible. Just as previous leaders had to postpone indefi-

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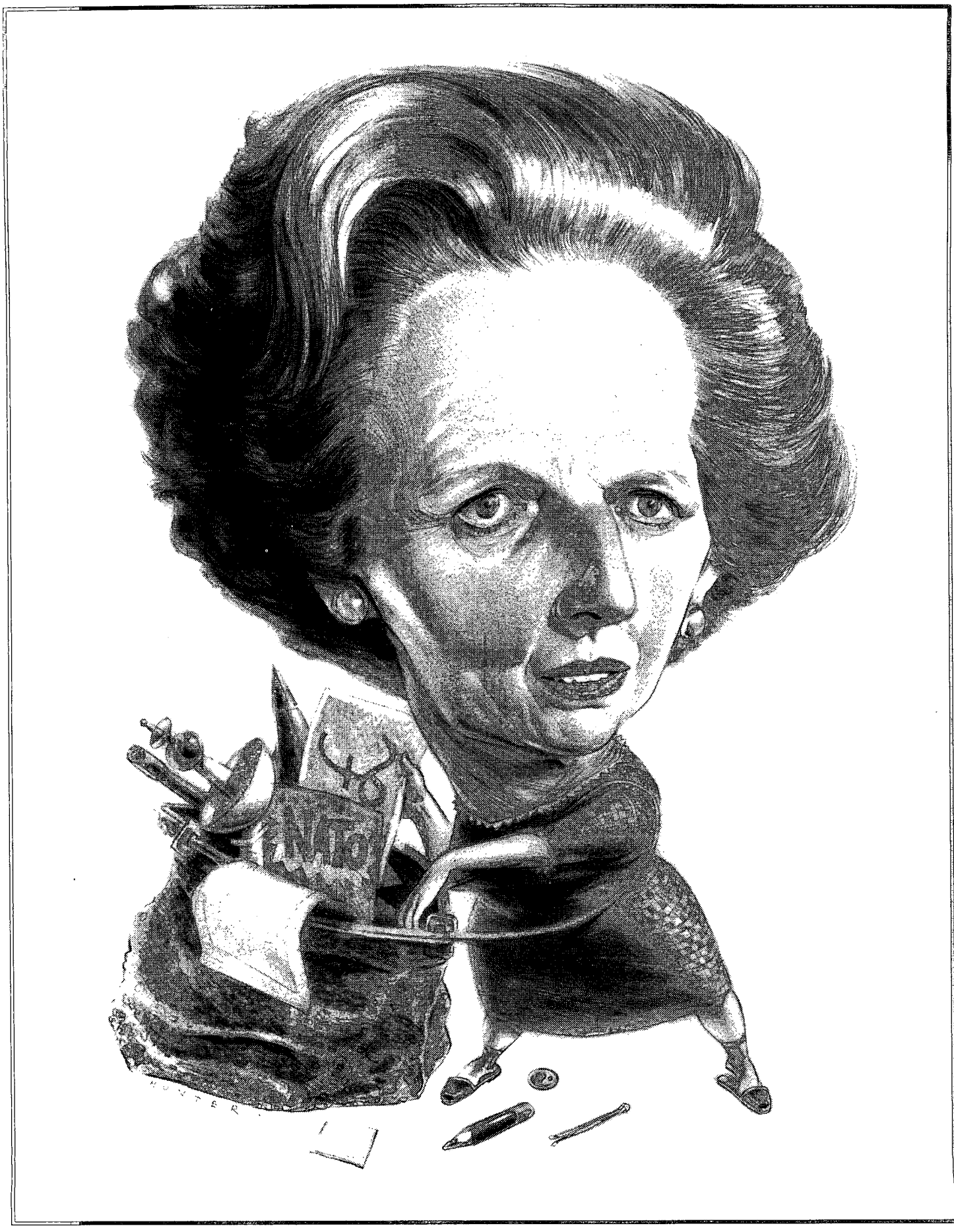

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nitely their dreams of modernizing British industry, so Mrs. Thatcher would have to learn to live with the welter of restrictive practices, prices and incomes policies, subsidies to ailing industries, trade union monopolies, planning boards, and regulatory commissions that were by now fixed landmarks of Britain's economic landscape. Eight years later, even her opponents agree that she has brought about a revolution in attitudes and expectations and a transformation of Britain's economic fortunes.

Economic Achievements

To begin with, Mrs. Thatcher has been remarkably successful in bringing inflation down from 13 percent in 1979 to 4 percent today and in reducing the budget deficit from 6.6 percent of the GDP in 1979 to about 1 percent in Fiscal 1988. She has done this by following the Medium Term Financial Strategy of her chief economic advisers, Alan Walters, Nigel Lawson, and Jock Bruce-Gardyne. Tight annual monetary targets wrung inflation out of the economy through a mixture of high interest rates and cutbacks in consumer spending. Government revenues increased as a result of higher taxes (the value added tax rose from 8 to 15 percent) and the sale of much of state-owned industry, including British Petroleum, British Sugar Corporation, Cable and Wireless, British Shipbuilders, National Freight Consortium, Bristoil, British Royal Hotels, and Associated British Ports. She has not been successful, however, in her goal of reducing government spending, which rose as a proportion of GDP from 43 to 44 percent.

Since 1983, Britain, with one-fourth the population of the U.S., has created one-twelfth as many new jobs as America.

Her achievements on inflation and budget deficits have come at a high cost. Tight money unrelieved by significant tax cuts led to bankruptcies and a trebling of the rate of unemployment from just over 1 million in 1979 to something over 3 million or about 11 percent of the labor force today. In 1979 the top marginal tax rate was 83 percent; today it is 60 percent. But when one takes into account the increase in indirect taxes like value added tax and the increase in the national insurance contribution (a tax on all employees) from 6.5 to 9 percent, the average tax burden is now somewhat higher than in 1979. *The Economist* recently demonstrated that whereas the government took 35 pence of every pound of the national income in taxes of one form or another in 1979, by 1986 it was claiming 38 pence!

In a notoriously unenterprising economy such as Britain's, making money expensive carries the danger of killing what entrepreneurship there is. Since 1983, Britain, with one-fourth the population of the United States, has created one-twelfth as many new jobs as America. Even taking into account the huge difference in attitudes, motivation, and social mobility between the two countries, the relative tax rates over the period must surely be a quite substantial part of the explanation for this divergence in the figures.

Revolution in Labor Law

Mrs. Thatcher's record is rather more impressive in eliminating the monopoly privileges enjoyed by the trade unions. A series of audacious employment laws in 1980, 1982, and 1984 led to the abolition of the practice of the so-called closed shop, the introduction of secret ballots to elect union officials, and the banning of all strikes not called after a democratic vote. Now Mrs. Thatcher promises further legislation to enable workers not to strike even if they had already voted to withdraw their labor.

The consequences have been remarkable. One industrial dispute after another has been resolved by employers or individual union members making use of the new laws, taking out injunctions against union leaders and thereby ending Britain's notorious and ignominious record of losing more work-days to strikes each year than any other advanced industrialized country.

Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher's greatest triumph was her defeat of the attempt by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to prevent the closure of loss-making pits in 1984-85. The NUM had for years been seen as the vanguard of the trade union movement. Defeat of this once invincible force led inevitably to a reappraisal among the unions as to how long it was possible to take for granted a significant level of investment in British industry, now that the hitherto most interested party, the state, seemed to be trying to get out of the whole business altogether.

The new laws have helped to bring three national newspapers into being and have permitted the belated introduction of computer typesetting. The unprofitable units of British Steel have been closed down; and the fortunes of Leyland have been transformed, culminating in the sale of Leyland Bus and Leyland Truck. Hitherto radical trade unions, such as the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), are signing "no-strike" deals with employers. Above all, the newly-profitable, newly-"strike-free" state-owned industries such as British Telecom and British Gas, British Airways, British Aerospace, Jaguar, Rolls-Royce, and Sealink ferries have been sold off and will be followed later this year or next by the airports, and the water and electricity utilities. These are manifestations of an upsurge in confidence among investors in the future profitability of British industry.

Overmanning, demarcation zones, restrictive practices, pay increases without commensurate increases in productivity—all practices that had a debilitating effect on British economic performance in the past—are visibly disappearing. Labor productivity in manufacturing industry increased by 25 percent from 1979 to 1986, compared with 6 percent from 1973 to 1979.

Still Convalescing

It may, however, be a little premature to hail the nation's recovery from the "British disease." Industrial output is still 5 percent below the 1979 level; investment is as much as 20 percent lower. Unit labor costs have increased by 6

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percent since 1979. Moreover, Mrs. Thatcher has so far been unable to bring more flexibility to Britain's rigid labor market.

The lack of geographic and social mobility, a frequently noted contributor to Britain's decline, has arisen from the unavailability of cheap housing. Rent controls, in addition to the subsidized tenancies of municipal estates, had ensured that people living in one part of the country were unable to take employment in another part of the country because they were not entitled to live in local authority housing, which was reserved for locals. Mrs. Thatcher's remedy was to sell council houses to their sitting tenants. This, it was hoped, would bring hundreds of thousands of new dwellings onto the market. This policy was carried out fairly thoroughly. Between 1976 and 1979 the total sales had amounted to 92,520 units. Between 1980 and 1984, the two years that saw the passing of the two Housing Acts, over 652,000 houses were sold. The proportion of owner-occupier dwellings, 54 percent in 1977, had reached 67 percent by late 1986. Though this has done much to raise the morale of the nation and removed much of that sense of helotry which had had so crippling an effect on social relations in Britain, its economic effects are not yet visible.

One reason is the continued existence of rent controls in private housing. Still on the books is the Rent Act of 1974, which makes it very difficult for any landlord, other than one who is an owner-occupier, to evict a tenant. (If anything, through measures like the recent Landlord and Tenant Bill, the present government has tightened rather than eased rent controls.) Mrs. Thatcher had promised some relaxation of controls during the election through the introduction of a system of shortholds for new lettings, in which security of tenure would be limited to 6 months or less, after which time rents are to be renegotiated. It is highly unlikely, though, that this measure will have anything like the effect Mrs. Thatcher now claims—something in the order of 550,000 new dwellings on the market—largely because it does not touch the vast number of council tenancies.

Tax and Spend

Mrs. Thatcher has also done little to overhaul the tax and benefit system. During her term of office, the incentives to take low-paid jobs rather than live on welfare have actually decreased. People today earning less than half the average income of £11,600 face a tax rate of 16.3 percent of their income, as opposed to 13.9 percent in 1979. Moreover the national insurance contribution has been increased from 6.5 percent to 9 percent, payable in full at the absurdly low threshold of 39 pounds a week. (Though given the current employment rate and the fact that it affects primarily low-paid unskilled workers, there may be equity arguments for increasing the insurance premium payments.) It has been estimated that a married couple with four children, will collect £100 a week from welfare payments, most certainly a more lucrative activity than taking low-paid employment.

State handouts also continue to go to the middle class. Students or school-leavers are entitled to welfare payments upon finishing their studies even if they still live at home. Married women get an allowance and maternity benefits. On election eve 1983, Mrs. Thatcher scuttled a proposal to require payment for treatment by the National Health Service, and she has abandoned her attempt to reduce the level of state maintenance payments to students in universities.

Mrs. Thatcher's historic contribution to Britain's economic destiny has been the creation of a new class of shareholders. The nationalized industries have truly become the property of the nation. As much as 20 percent of the adult population now own shares of business stock in a country where socialism had always found far more adherents than capitalism. What was peculiarly clever about the privatization policy was that in the sale of the shares, preference was given to employees and small shareholders. Had the buyers been large consortia, the left would almost certainly have threatened to renationalize these industries.

As much as 20 percent of the adult population now own shares of business stock in a country where socialism had always found far more adherents than capitalism.

As it is, would an incoming Labour government really dare to take these shares away from relatively poor people, some of whom may even be potential supporters? In introducing "popular capitalism" into the Labour stronghold, Mrs. Thatcher has done for the British what Ronald Reagan had done for the American people. She has dispelled the notion that economic decline is inevitable, and has affirmed the idea that individuals are basically responsible for their destiny and answerable for their actions.

Foreign Policy

In the area of foreign policy, Mrs. Thatcher's accomplishments are perhaps more modest, but substantial nonetheless. Her name will always be associated with the Falklands War, a demonstration of steely resolve by a nation that had for a century been trying to wrest from itself the mantle of world power. That single episode gave an incalculable boost to the spirits of her countrymen. She has presided over the modernization of Britain's nuclear forces. She has been the strongest and most consistent voice calling for NATO to honor its commitments. She did not hesitate to offer British soil as the base for a U.S. retaliatory strike against Libyan terrorism. Nor has she wavered in her support for deployment of Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. Her view of the Soviets is realistic and forthrightly expressed, with the exception of an occasional nod to Gorbachev's reasonableness. She pulled no punches on a recent trip to Moscow, calling the Soviet Union a "bully," and suggesting that its religious and political persecution makes one wonder "whether they are going to

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keep any agreements you reach on arms control."

While these actions can be applauded on both sides of the Atlantic, there have been moments recently when Mrs. Thatcher has given the impression of longing for the mantle of Gaullism. On a number of issues, whether under the influence of the anti-American Foreign Office or indulging a rather misplaced *folie de grandeur,* she has pursued a course bringing her into conflict with the United States.

The most notable example of this was, of course, Grenada, when rather than admit that the British policy of supporting the hopeless Sir Eric Gairy and overlooking the excesses of Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard was bankrupt, she followed the line advocated by the Foreign Office, the very people who had allowed the situation to degenerate in the first place. Choosing to be petulant rather than constructive, she claimed that since Grenada was a member of the Commonwealth, its invasion violated British sovereignty. This was certainly nonsense, though it is true that a more sensitive approach towards the British government by the United States might have elicited a different response.

A more glaring example of the pernicious influence of the cultural anti-Americanism of the Foreign Office came in 1985 when Sir Geoffrey Howe made a wildly inaccurate and irresponsible attack on the Strategic Defense Initiative. Mrs. Thatcher's perception of SDI is almost certainly determined by her fear that a race to develop anti-missile technology would render useless the new generation of nuclear missiles which Britain has committed itself to with the decision to deploy Trident 2 by 1992.

As for the issue of the gas pipeline contract with the Soviet Union, her defiance of Reagan on that occasion was shaped by an understandable irritation with an administration that had just lifted its grain embargo, and then proceeded to dictate to its allies in an area where it had no commercial interests.

Thatcher and Reagan

Mrs. Thatcher's brand of conservatism obviously has many resemblances to that of Ronald Reagan. There is the same intense patriotism, the same unashamed commitment to private enterprise, to the family as the most basic unit of social nurture, to the enhancement of the power of individuals to make their own decisions as to the kind of lives they wish to lead.

Both have had their failures as well as their successes. When Margaret Thatcher came to power, public spending as a proportion of the GDP was 43.25 percent; today it is 44.25 percent. When Ronald Reagan came to power, public spending was 22.5 percent of the Gross National Product; today it is 24.1 percent. Figures like that might indicate that the two leaders have merely been offering stirring rhetoric but few successes in their struggle against the bureaucracy. Nevertheless both Reagan and Thatcher, though they have undoubtedly been forced to curtail their ambitions, especially in the area of state benefits and foreign policy, have nevertheless presided over the most significant cutbacks in the public sector that we have witnessed since the beginning of the massive expansion of the state at the turn of the century. There have been considerable similarities—Reagan's deregulation, Thatcher's privatization—as well as considerable divergencies— Reagan's credit expansion, Thatcher's austerity.

Both leaders have been setting the agenda of public debate for the last few years. In the United States, there is no need for further persuasion: tax cuts and deregulation are here to stay. In Britain, however, the material that Mrs. Thatcher had to deal with was very resistant to conservative philosophy and may yet relapse to the old mode. There will, I suspect, be other Ronald Reagans, but the British will not see the likes of Mrs. Thatcher for many a long year. The more's the pity.

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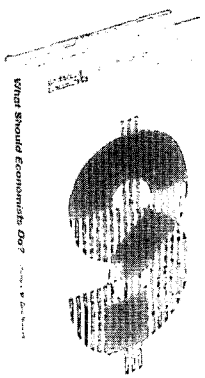

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THE REAGAN REVOLUTION THAT WASN'T

Why Conservatives Have Achieved So Little

PAUL M. WEYRICH

In the final analysis, all politics is local.
—The late Richard J. Daley, former mayor of Chicago

Most of the Republican candidates for President in 1988 talk of furthering the "Reagan Revolution." Most Democratic candidates, however, do not talk of undoing the Reagan Revolution. They know better. They well understand that, with the exception of his judicial appointments, almost everything that President Reagan has accomplished can be swiftly undone by a single session of a heavily Democratic Congress, or by the stroke of a pen from a new Democratic President himself.

In short, while insignificant changes have been made, there has been no Reagan Revolution. At least not by the standards of Franklin Roosevelt, or even Margaret Thatcher.

When Roosevelt governed, he created a power base for his politics that endured long after his death. He forged a coalition that lasted more than 50 years by creating programs that in turn created new constituencies for the liberals. One does not have to agree with the New Deal to admire the way Roosevelt institutionalized it.

Similarly, Mrs. Thatcher's privatization programs created new constituencies for her Conservative party. Slum dwellers living in public housing suddenly became Conservative voters when they were allowed to purchase their own apartments and actually own them. The same holds true for the many workers who became stockholders as nationalized firms were converted back to private ownership.

By contrast, President Reagan's policies have created no new conservative constituencies. On the contrary, the same old liberal establishment is in place, just waiting for the election of the next Democratic President.

The one attempt by the President to change things drastically was his proposal in early 1981 to consolidate most of the existing federal monies into block grants and turn the money over to the control of state legislatures.

Shortly afterwards, I happened to be in the audience at a national conference of welfare officials in Minneapolis. The speakers described Reagan's initiative as "diabolical," and they had good reason to be worried. Here was a reform that would have altered the political landscape by taking power away from liberal constituencies. It would have forced liberal allies to compete against each other for funds and would have allowed state legislatures to create their own uses for the money.

The liberals, despite the Reagan landslide and the Republican Senate, still had enough political power to kill this measure within eight months of Reagan's election.

Likewise, Education Secretary William Bennett's proposal to voucherize certain of his programs was Dead on Arrival in the Congress. Again the liberals, despite Ronald Reagan's historic reelection, used their real power to stop it. Without the strength to effect such reforms, the "Reagan Revolution" turned out to be not a revolution at all but rather a temporary bloodless coup.

When conservatives finally realize that it is not "morning in America" any more and that the Reagan "Revolution" will vanish into thin air the minute he leaves office unless someone who is more radical and confrontational than Reagan takes his place, perhaps then the right questions will, at last, be asked.

The Republican party spent $1 billion on national elections during the past decade. The conservative movement spent another $200 million, and business PACS and individual contributors over $300 million, supporting national Republican candidates during the same period. That is more than $1.5 billion spent on national elections and very little to show for it. Why?

The first reason is that many conservatives are monarchists at heart. They *love* the Presidency. They think that if you own the Presidency, that is all that really counts. Richard Nixon should have proved the case against that theory once and for all, but the idea persists. A few conservatives have now come to the conclusion that Congress is just as important (while a few of us lonely analysts would insist that it is more important); but almost no conservatives, until now, have believed that if you control local politics you will control national politics. Therefore, Republicans and conservatives have put nearly all their resources into national races, while liberals and Democrats have not for-

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Wide World Photos

Conservatives need a stronger sense of territory

gotten that *local* and *state* politics enabled them to stop the Reagan Revolution dead in its tracks.

Whenever there is a vacancy in a Congressional district, the liberals always have three times the number of attractive candidates available to run as do the conservatives. Moreover, liberal Democrats usually start any such race with a 20-point advantage. This is because there are simply more liberal Democrats at the state and local levels. They control nearly all the cities of any size. They dominate the counties. They hold a commanding lead in the state legislatures. Most members of Congress have served in city, county, or state legislatures before being elected nationally. Liberals use local elections to launch their people into national politics. Conservatives seldom do.

One notable exception is the city-county government of Indianapolis, where a Reagan industrialist, Dr. Beurt SerVaas, has been City Council President since 1975. Unlike most Republicans, SerVaas has sought to govern. He has used his power in much the same way that the Democrats have in other cities. Indianapolis has many of the same urban problems as other northern industrial cities. Yet in Indianapolis, the Republicans have 23 seats, the Democrats, 6. Many of the Republicans are conservative, including SerVaas himself, who publishes the *Saturday Evening Post*, among other ventures. The SerVaas era has produced the state's senior Senator Richard Lugar, a former Indianapolis mayor. The leading candidate for governor on the Republican side for 1988 is now Bill Hudnut, Lugar's successor, and another product of SerVaas-style local politics.

I am not arguing that Lugar and Hudnut are model conservatives. The point is that local politics can produce national politicians for the Republicans as well as the Democrats, though there are very few Republican examples to talk about in modern times.

The Territorial Imperative

The experience of the Reagan Administration proves what Howard Phillips has been saying for years: that conservatives don't know the difference between power and influence.

Conservatives have had influence in the Reagan era. Our ideas land on the President's desk. Senators call us and ask our opinions. We have been able to influence the selection of some members of the cabinet. We are daily interviewed by the media and our opinions are read or seen by millions. Even our views are now debated in liberal media organs.

But we have no power. Having power presupposes holding "territory." We hold no territory. Nowhere in America today are conservative agendas moving though state legislatures. Here and there, we have conservative governors or Republican control of the legislatures, but not usually together, and Republican control often does not mean conservative control. Even when the Republicans controlled the U.S. Senate, the conservatives did not. The small band of liberal Republicans really dictated policy. We did not hold that "territory."

Political power in this country is not just in legislatures, however. It also resides in political groupings and organizations.

Here again, conservatives hold no territory. The liberals own the black leadership, large portions of the Hispanic leadership, and the labor unions. Republicans and conservatives have done almost nothing to foster local issue-

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oriented conservative black and Hispanic movements, so the liberals are still in the driver's seat. Nor has the Reagan Administration defunded the liberal black and Hispanic leadership, which still get most of its money from the federal government. Meanwhile threats and harassment by liberal blacks and Hispanics have prevented conservative blacks and Hispanics from getting the necessary credentials to create an alternative leadership.

The labor unions are, by all estimates, in a state of absolute decline. They represent the smallest percentage of the work force since the 1920s. The image of organized labor is worse today than it has been in decades, and even liberal newspapers attack the unions. Yet the agenda of organized labor moves unabated through the Congress. At least 10 major items sponsored by organized labor will likely reach the President's desk before the 100th Congress adjourns. How can that be? Why can any group which has such a poor image and is otherwise in trouble be so powerful in Washington? The answer is that organized labor exercises real power. It controls "territory." When someone gets elected with the help of organized labor, he either accepts the party line or he is in deep trouble.

Conservatives are monarchists at heart. They *love* the Presidency. They think that if you own the Presidency, that is all that really counts.

George McGovern, for example, failed to win AFL-CIO support in 1972 not, as is often said, because he was soft on the Soviets, but because he once voted with the conservatives to keep section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act. The vote had been necessary for McGovern to keep his Senate seat in South Dakota, but then AFL-CIO President George Meany never forgave that betrayal by McGovern of the forces who put him in office in the first place.

Conservatives have no comparable group. The closest to the unions in size and potential influence are the fundamentalists and evangelicals. It was their move into the political process in the late 1970s that gave Reagan and the Republicans their significant moment in history in 1980.

Then, as soon as Reagan was in the White House, Chief of Staff Jim Baker announced that social issues would be on the "back burner." A prominent White House official was quoted as saying that the Religious Right would get "symbolism from us but never any substance." Mike Deaver said publicly that the Reverend Jerry Falwell was welcome to visit the White House, provided that he came in the back door.

Clearly, the Republicans want to use the Religious Right to elect themselves to office, while giving them nothing in return. Unfortunately, the Religious Right allowed this to happen.

In 1981, I urged Falwell to send the Republicans a strong signal that they could not take the Religious Right for granted. A good opportunity, I suggested, would be to endorse Chuck Robb, a Democrat, over Marshall Coleman, a Republican, in the Virginia gubernatorial elections that year. Robb wanted Falwell's support, and he was no worse than Coleman on the social issues; but Falwell backed off and ended up with a last minute endorsement of Coleman. Coleman lost. Robb won without Falwell. The GOP got the message that you can do anything to the Religious Right and they will still support Republicans.

Most leaders of the Religious Right behaved the same way as Falwell. They were so happy, after years of isolation, to get invited to state dinners at the White House, that many forgot what had moved them to get into politics in the first place.

A good example of this myopia was Falwell's endorsement of Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania for reelection in 1986. Specter had single-handedly destroyed the reputation of William Bradford Reynolds, thereby preventing his deserved promotion. He is for abortion, against school prayer, and seldom helps the President's defense and foreign policy agenda. In short, Specter represents the opposite values of Jerry Falwell. Yet when Falwell was asked why he was still endorsing Specter, he replied, "After all, he's a Republican isn't he?"

Leaders who behave like that politically don't generate a power base for themselves. Despite enormous resources and potential, the Religious Right holds no power. Little enough influence, but absolutely no power.

If conservatives are to win, beachheads must be established in liberal power centers. Religious Right leaders must be trained to act differently so that their agenda is taken seriously. And a local infrastructure must be built which will enable conservatives to begin to control real "territory" at the local and state level.

States Under Siege

The growth in federal entitlements programs has crowded out the possibility for massive Great Society experimentation at the national level. Even if Ted Kennedy or Howard Metzenbaum should be elected President, federal spending would be limited by the budget deficits, rising debt, and Gramm-Rudman. Experimentation with new programs must now take place mostly in the states.

The Reagan "Revolution" will vanish into thin air the minute he leaves office unless someone who is more radical and confrontational than Reagan takes his place.

The liberals understand this shift in action. Conservative legislators tell me that five years ago they seldom saw

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liberal lobbyists in some of our more conservative states. Now the legislative halls are crawling with them, and in liberal states they are pressing their advantage. State Representative Janet Polinsky, co-chairman of Connecticut's General Assembly Budget Committee, tells the world how proud she is that the already incredibly large state budget has grown a whopping 14 percent in 1987 to create 2,800 new state positions, mostly in housing and day care. The same story can be told all over America. The Great Society may be over in Washington, but it has just begun in the states.

For that reason, state and local conservative groups are springing up across the nation. In Connecticut, Richard Sweetser has put together the Yankee Institute for Public Policy Studies to challenge liberalism directly at the state level. The Independence Institute does similar work in Colorado.

The National Foundation for Economic Research, founded by businessman Michael Valerio and run by Peter Thomas, is putting together a network of state-based foundations that will foster public policy research for state and local legislatures, encourage the formation of state PACs, and train campaign managers for conservative legislative candidates. Valerio's aim is to build a local infrastructure, recognizing that the monarchist-oriented GOP will never get the job done.

In addition, Valerio has helped to establish the Institute for State Economic Policy at the Free Congress Foundation. It is headed by Richard B. Dingman, the former Executive Director of the House Republican Study Committee, the caucus of conservative legislators in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Richard Ford, a Texas conservative activist who has set up a public policy foundation, a lobby, and a state PAC, has had more influence on the recent legislative session in Texas than any other outside group. Ford has taken the lessons conservatives have learned at the national level, applied them in Austin, and has had far better results than we have had nationally.

This fall, a major new public policy foundation will be launched in Wisconsin with the assistance of Michael Joyce of the Bradley Foundation. This will represent the most serious and best-planned undertaking at the state level anywhere in America. In July, The Heritage Foundation and the Free Congress Foundation are sponsoring a three-day seminar for local and state groups. There is now talk of forming a trade association-type organization to provide a common doctrine for local conservatives across the country.

The Great Society may be over in Washington, but it has just begun in the states.

Here then lies the enormous opportunity for conservatives growing directly out of their failure to make permanent changes in Washington. To fight the next war rather than the last, to set the agenda rather than react to the liberals' agenda, conservatives must construct local operations so as to hold real territory, and thus create real power.

What if one state adopted a genuine plan for educational voucher? They would work. And the NEA big lie that vouchers would destroy the public education system would be forever put to rest when public education turns out to be better and stronger in a voucherized state than in those where public education has a monopoly. From there, vouchers nationally would become a real possibility, whereas now such a real reform has no chance.

Because defense and foreign policy and national policies on major issues are still important, conservatives must not abandon what they have done in Washington in order to carry out this new direction. Quite the contrary, what goes on in Washington will take on significant new meaning when the liberals here learn that we have real troops and real power at the local level to back up our considerably better ideas in national politics.

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Out of the Wilderness

The Political Education of the Christian Right

Dinesh D'Souza

One of the most important reasons for the conservative ascent to power in the last decade is the political contribution of the New Right and the Christian Right. Membership in the Christian Right includes millions of evangelicals and fundamentalists who, ostracized by the mainstream culture for half a century, have returned to the public square to make a bid for political influence and social acceptance. Together with a constellation of New Right strategists and organizations fighting the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion on demand, and other liberal programs, the Christian Right provided Ronald Reagan with several million voters and activists. Statistical evidence suggests that President Reagan could not have come to power without their support. Yet the allegiance of these groups to the conservative cause remains fragile, even dubious. In 1988, it will not be surprising if many of these people sit out the elections or at least fail to mobilize their political forces.

It may be too early to write an epitaph for the New Right and Christian Right. But historians viewing the movement are bound to notice startling parallels between it and its predecessor, the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Both represent the efforts of previously denigrated and isolated groups to reach for a legitimate place in mainstream society. Both suffered intellectual and cultural ridicule. Neither enjoyed power of any significance. Neither believed it was being taken seriously by professional elites. Both had a strong sense of group identity which was seen as being undermined, sometimes coercively, by the larger culture. Both movements were headed by preachers leading the faithful to the promised land. Both used biblical and religious justifications for their political involvement. Neither saw themselves as achieving anything more than equal opportunity, although both sometimes demanded special treatment to achieve this. Both germinated in the South. Both have encountered strong resistance bordering on bigotry from the entrenched political establishment, liberal and conservative. Both made their share of blunders, rhetorical and actual, which energized suspicions on the part of their adversaries. Finally, both have had a powerful effect in raising the moral consciousness of the nation.

There are important differences too, of course. Unlike blacks, evangelicals were never forcibly denied their political rights. Their general absence from the political arena between the 1920s and the 1970s was voluntary. Further, they never encountered anything like the typhonic prejudice suffered by blacks. Even in their worst periods, they tended to be laughed at, not lynched. Finally, even in isolation, evangelicals and fundamentalists could develop alternate social institutions and power bases on their own. They were never as reliant on the culture at large for subsistence and social advancement. For all these caveats, however, the parallels between Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jerry Falwell and between the movements they represent, remain startling.

Populist Revolt

The reaction of many intellectuals and policy makers to the political emergence of the evangelicals resembles the distaste and amazement of the John Quincy Adams coterie of aristocrats when Andrew Jackson was swept into office and hundreds of thousands of yelling, tobacco-chewing farmers flooded the nation's capital. That is exactly what we have witnessed in the last decade—a populist revolt of the American heartland.

The best place to discover the ancestral past of the Christian Right is Tocqueville's account of his journeys through America, for these are the communities that he mingled with, and whose ways and worldview he chronicled in *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville noticed the pervasive role of Christianity. "In the United States, there are an infinite variety of ceaselessly changing sects," he wrote, "but Christianity itself is an established and irresistible fact which no one seeks to attack or defend." Religious fervor and public piety served to counterbalance and regulate what Tocqueville perceived as a powerful desire for economic and social success among middle Americans: "Every religion imposes on each man some obligations toward mankind, to be performed in common with the rest, and so draws him away, from time to time, from thinking about himself." By generating charitable and em-

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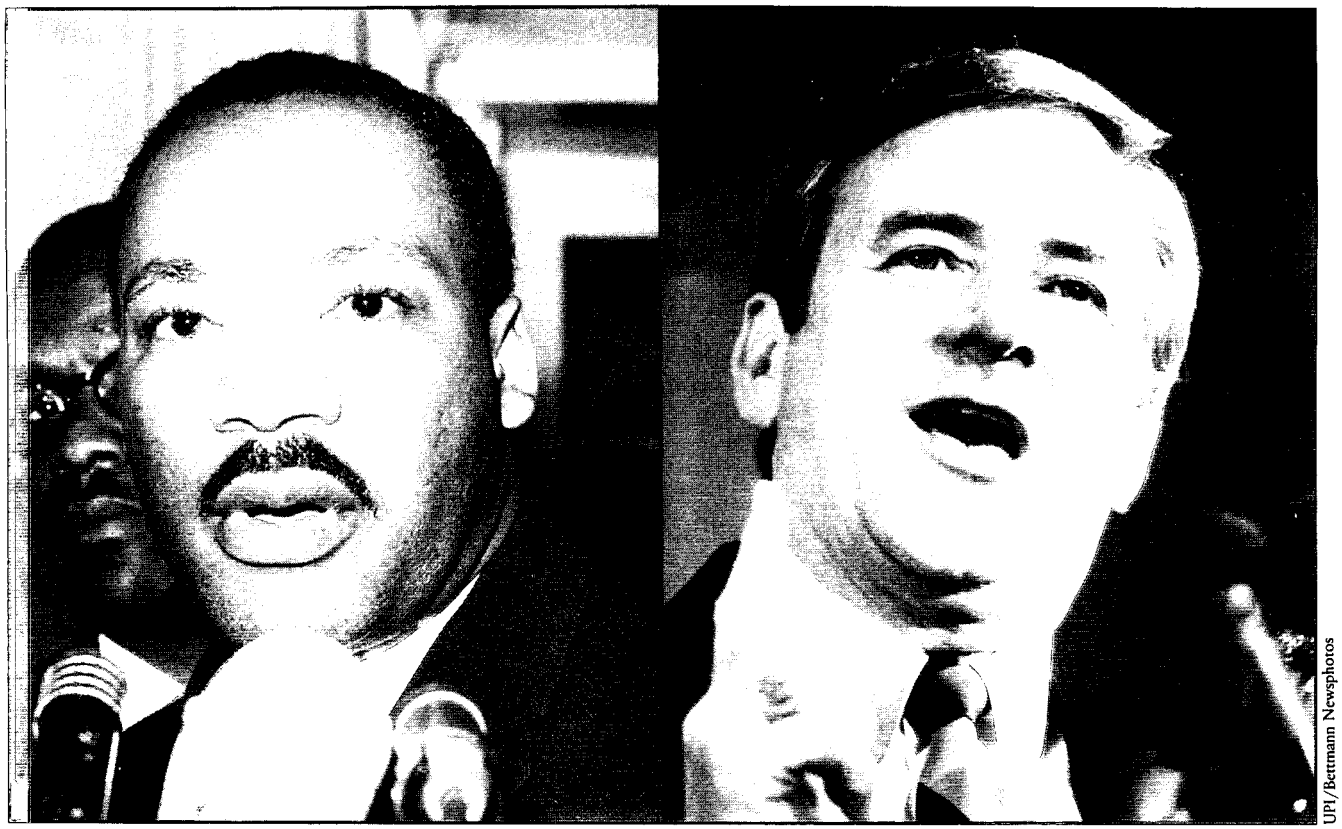

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Reverends Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jerry Falwell both encountered bigotry as they sought a political voice for their communities

pathetic impulses, religion also served as a check against the tyranny of the majority, the peculiar "despotism of democracy."

Tocqueville stressed the this-worldly implications of religion in America: "Priests in the Middle Ages spoke of nothing but the other life . . . But preachers in America are continually coming down to earth. Indeed, they find it difficult to take their eyes off it." He considered politics a natural extension of the domain of morality: "The idea of right is nothing but the idea of virtue extended to the political world." Tocqueville arrived at the conclusion that, for these Americans, "Religion should be considered the first of their political institutions."

This broad-based group with its roots in Tocqueville's America coalesced into a self-consciously Christian movement in the early part of the 20th century in a theological effort to defeat secularist and modernist trends that were raging through the academies and seminaries. Although initially led by intellectuals, such as J. Gresham Machen of the Princeton Theological Seminary, this resistance became dominated by populist preachers and politicians. Fairly typical was the Reverend Billy Sunday, who brought the techniques of vaudeville to revivalist preaching. In response to the new scholarship epitomized by Walter Rauschenbusch's *Theology of Social Gospel,* Sunday remarked, "I've had enough of this godless, social service nonsense." He often responded to intellectual inquiries with statements like "That's too deep for me" or "I'll have to pass on that." Another preacher, Reverend Frank Norris, brought apes and monkeys to his pulpit during his sermons condemning the theory of evolution; he introduced his audience to their "kinfolk." During the Scopes trial of 1925, William Jennings Bryan expressed the views of the people he represented when he said he would rather "have faith in the Rock of Ages than know the age of the rocks."

The reason evangelicals became discredited was that they simply refused to meet the arguments of their adversaries. They were far too promiscuous with charges of heresy. They insisted on invoking the Bible when its very veracity was the subject in question. Every time they lost a fracas they sulked and withdrew into their own enclaves. By the time of the Great Depression, the political and cultural retreat of the evangelicals and fundamentalists was complete.

Religious Separatism

Withdrawing from the mainstream, they built their own schools, churches, clubs, and recreation centers. Their attitude was characterized by the term "separatist," a religious phrase referring to the biblical injunction to be "in the world but not of the world." Fundamentalists regarded the world as corrupt. The widespread nature of this corruption was taken by many of them to indicate that biblical criteria for the end of the world were being met. Their only outreach to the mainstream culture was through evangelical mission, a persistent if longshot attempt to draw wayward souls to Christ through repentance.

In the 1960s and 1970s hundreds of thousands of Unitarians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other mainline Protestants defected to evangelical and fundamentalist churches. The paradox of this "seismic shift" (as historian

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Martin Marty described it) was that the mainline churches for decades had been denouncing the fundamentalists as irrelevant, antiquated, and behind the times, while they strenuously worked to make their liturgies and practices "relevant" to the modern era. But apparently the people in the pews did not appreciate the dilution of transcendent beliefs into a vague ethic of income redistribution and tolerance of all conceivable lifestyles. "What people wanted were spiritual absolutes, which were often undermined in the mainline denominations," remarks James Reichley, a fellow at the Brookings Institution and author of *Religion in America*. So they flocked to churches that preached the inerrancy of the Bible, the historicity of Christ, the existence of the afterlife, and the promise of salvation.

It was only when many of these evangelicals and fundamentalists returned to the public arena in the late 1970s and early 1980s that they became the Christian Right. That politicization has two causes. The first is provincial. Fundamentalists perceived the famous "wall of separation" of church and state, which they supported, being scaled and transgressed by the state. The most intimate aspects of their social lives became the obsessive concern of the courts and the federal government. What most disconcerted them was that the state seemed to be trying to usurp their authority to raise their own children.

First, the Internal Revenue Service began snooping around Christian schools. Many of these were classified as "segregation academies" and presumed guilty of racial discrimination until they could demonstrate otherwise. Under pressure from the American Civil Liberties Union and others, states also denied accreditation to many parochial schools because their religion kept them from teaching the theory of evolution in biology classrooms. In the public schools, promiscuity and homosexuality were discussed without reference to religious or moral norms, all in the name of "sex education." Parents who attempted to influence the textbooks that young people read in school were routinely accused of censorship. The courts ordered children in many of these communities bused to faraway places as an antidote to putative racism. Students could get contraceptives without the permission of their parents, whose views were seen as irrelevant. School prayer, whether voluntary or not, was held to be unconstitutional. Over the years there was a slow buildup of frustration and angst. Fundamentalist political activity grew in organized response to this.

Doubts About Armageddon

There is also a religious explanation for the Christian Right's political awakening. Quite simply, the millennial expectations that energized evangelical proselytization in the past have been losing their religious urgency, perhaps even their plausibility, over the last several decades. After all, the imminent end of the world and the second coming of Christ can be announced only so many times before the view begins to lose credibility. Being repeatedly thwarted by history tends to introduce a certain circumspection. The tenacity of millennial convictions previously discouraged evangelicals from social activism. If Armageddon is upon us, then secular reform is futile, akin to rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic, as one prominent fundamentalist preacher put it.

"Historically a belief in the imminent Second Coming kept evangelicals out of politics," remarks Cal Thomas, former vice president of Moral Majority, now a syndicated columnist. Now, however, politics has become virtually a religious duty, a divine mandate. It is political celibacy that is a sin. Jimmy Swaggart has implied that socially inactive evangelicals are the unwitting accessories of the atheists and secular humanists. What we have witnessed is a shifting of priorities within the religious sphere. Most fundamentalists care less about postmillennial ecstasies and more about reorienting the world along principles of moral virtue. Thomas argues that millennial excitement, to the extent that it remains, now co-exists comfortably with electoral activism.

As the Christian Right entered politics, it found itself consorting with many of its sworn historical enemies. Evangelicals opposed to abortion found themselves in the trenches with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. For more than a century Catholics had been victims of evangelical antagonism. Numerous fundamentalist preachers in the early decades of the 20th century gave sermons on the "Pope as Antichrist" and "Rum and Romanism." In 1960 hundreds of thousands of militant evangelicals denounced John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign as a Vatican scheme to take over the United States government. But suddenly, in the aftermath of *Roe v. Wade*, these people saw Catholics in the forefront of the political issue they cared most about, abortion. Naturally their prejudices against Catholics called for some reappraisal.

The same was true with Mormons and blacks. Fundamentalists discovered that among their most reliable allies on social issues were Mormons, whose ancestors they had chased around the country, persecuted, and killed. Entire evangelical revivals in some areas had been based on united opposition to Mormon polygamy, which was said to pose a dire threat to the moral fiber of the nation. Now the Christian Right discovered something strange: however strongly they disagreed with Mormon claims that America is the promised land where Christ once visited, there was a sense in which this notion could be given political meaning. Fundamentalists had no quarrel with the understanding of America as a New Jerusalem, the home of opportunity and religious liberty.

And then there were black conservatives whose agenda evangelicals found pleasantly congruent with their own, and whose poise and sophistication challenged any residual notions of black inferiority. Some evangelical organizers were surprised to discover how strongly many blacks supported traditional values, especially on the abortion and school prayer issues. Black and white evangelicals increasingly began to preach in each other's churches. Meanwhile, the proliferation of evangelical prayer breakfasts on behalf of Israel helped to reduce dramatically the movement's anti-Semitism.

War on Humanism

With racial and religious bigotry receding, the instinctive separation of fundamentalists and evangelicals was redirected against a 20th century adversary, secular humanism.

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However elusive this new target, the crucial fact is that it was a political foe to be tackled by political means. In building political alliances to carry the battle against secular humanism, evangelicals realized that, in many respects, there was more common ground across religious and ethnic denominations than within them. In other words, Jerry Falwell and Cardinal John O'Connor probably share a closer vision for society than O'Connor and Father Curran. Pat Robertson could agree on more with Thomas Sowell than Sowell could agree on with Benjamin Hooks. Thus has politics worked to submerge and dissipate many of the old prejudices among the New Right and Christian Right.

The first unexpected show of strength from the new conservative coalition was the mobilization of opposition to the turnover of the Panama Canal. The Old Right had resisted the giveaway on familiar anti-Communist grounds, but the New Right and Christian Right developed a different strategy of opposition: "We built it, we paid for it, and it's ours." This jingoistic appeal worked far better than the elaborate efforts to link the Panamanian ruler to Havana and Moscow. Although unsuccessful, the Panama Canal campaign activated millions of workers and contributors, some of whom had not written checks and marched in the streets since the Goldwater days, others never before.

In 1980, candidate Reagan found himself the fortunate beneficiary of the relentless activism of scores of animated Christian groups and strategists. The irony was that they were backing a divorced Hollywood personality against an avowed born-again Christian from the South. Even though Jimmy Carter was the evangelical favorite in 1976, by 1980 he was viewed as a dangerous apostate. The hapless Georgian found himself denounced for immoral views on the social issues by hordes of groups with names such as Congressional Club, Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the Conservative Caucus, National Conservative Political Action Committee, Eagle Forum, National Federation for Decency, National Right to Life Committee, Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, and Moral Majority.

Led by wily strategists who understood politicking and the press, these groups were effective, too. On television, preachers such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, James Robison, and Jimmy Swaggart raged against abortion and pornography, which they linked to the Democratic platform. NCPAC ran devastating negative commercials in the districts of targeted liberals, documenting the chasm between their votes and the values of their constituents. New Christian voters were registered at a rapid pace, partly to offset a liberal campaign to enfranchise blacks. Richard Viguerie's direct-mail juggernaut bombarded millions of people with information and hortatory appeals.

All this went largely unnoticed by the media. When it was over, Ronald Reagan was president by a landslide and the political arena was littered with liberal corpses; Senators McGovern, Church, Magnuson, Nelson, Culver, and Bayh were replaced by the likes of Symms, Nickles, Denton, East, Grassley, Abdnor, Quayle, and Hawkins. James Buchanan, the felled Democratic congressman from Alabama, was one of several politicians who acknowledged that he was done in by the Religious Right: "They beat my brains out with Christian love." And Pat Robertson announced that henceforth Christians "had enough votes to run the country."

Inquisition Alert

Now, wiping the filaments of sleep from their eyes, the media came alive in the presence of this new force. Apoplexy set in. There was a flurry of books—*God's Bullies, Holy Terror, Thunder on the Right*—written under heavy perspiration, and with little information or insight. Acres of newspaper and magazine coverage worried about the demise of the Constitution and the return of the Inquisition. Katherine Helmond, a soap opera actress, announced she was moving back to Britain to escape the tentacles of the Moral Majority. Norman Lear founded People for the American Way to oppose what he saw as the incredible arrogance and presumptuousness of the Christian Right. Teresa Carpenter of the *Village Voice* reflected a virtual journalistic consensus when she said, "You can either give Jerry Falwell the benefit of the doubt, that is, keep an open mind, or you can assume that he is a sophisticated snake oil salesman. I tend toward the latter and that, I will be the first to admit, is a purely emotional reaction. Whenever I step within a 10-foot radius of a fundamentalist minister, my reason clouds over."

As the Christian Right entered politics, it found itself consorting with many of its sworn enemies.

Given all this hoopla, it came as some surprise that the New Right and Christian Right did not play a very significant part in the elections of 1982, 1984, and 1986. Evangelicals continued to vote conservative during those years, but the heady activism was much diminished, in some cases invisible. Even on particular issue battles engaged by the Reagan Administration, such as strategic defense, aid to the Nicaraguan contras, even a school prayer amendment, New Right and Christian Right mobilization was minimal. The various organizations remained in place, sporting an array of acronymns, but their fiery numbers seem to have disappeared. And many of their donors seem to have tightened up on contributions.

Manichean Struggle

The New Right and Christian Right, as newcomers to the political stage, have encountered difficulties accommodating the constraints of pluralistic democracy. They have fared quite well in making allies. They have not been as successful dealing with those with whom they disagree. Their populist strategies have always been Manichean in tone: a battle of good versus evil, light versus darkness. As James Robison barked, "I'm sick and tired of hearing about all the radicals and perverts and liberals and leftists and Communists coming out of the closets. It's time for God's people to come out of the closets, out of the

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churches, and change America." A NCPAC letter informed subscribers, "Your tax dollars are being used to pay for grade school courses that teach your children that cannibalism, wife swapping, and the murder of infants and the elderly are acceptable behavior." Going from such rhetoric to the politics of compromise and barter is an understandably difficult project. And its stridency of tone and biblical invocations disturb many groups, including some Catholics and Jews familiar with the past of these groups.

The millennial expectations that energized evangelical proselytization in the past have been losing their religious urgency.

Few in the New Right and Christian Right understand that, for all their considerable numbers, they are not as strong as their enemies. Though warnings that fundamentalists are about to "destroy the Democratic and Republican parties and rule the United States" (Americans for Democratic Action) or alternatively "establish a nightmare of religious and political orthodoxy" (American Civil Liberties Union) are simply absurd, some religious conservatives think they have the power attributed to them by their critics. They don't realize that their best hope for change lies in the decentralization, localization, and privatization of power. More ground can be gained by influencing the moral tenor of their home towns and communities than on such presently futile battles at the federal level as a Human Life Amendment and a School Prayer Amendment.

One serious problem the Christian Right faces is that it is seldom able to counter establishment elites and the mainstream culture on rival turf. In the polemical realm, it is frequently outgunned by its opponents. This is not because the religious conservatives are intellectually inept. Rather, it is because they often insist on employing a scriptural line of argument against people who deny the authority of the Bible to resolve the questions under dispute. It does little good to quote the dire injunctions against homosexuality from the book of Leviticus to people who find the Old Testament outdated and irrelevant on that point. To listen to some fundamentalists, one sometimes gets the impression that the argument for marital fidelity depends entirely on acceptance of the literal truth of the story of Jonah and the whale.

Is Plato in Heaven?

Evangelicals would do well to acquaint themselves with the rational Western tradition making the case for their moral beliefs. In a sense this means partially abandoning the crusade against "secular humanism," for much of this tradition is self-consciously humanistic. In a pluralistic democracy it is impossible to resolve questions purely through an appeal to divine revelation. That strategy only appeals to the already converted. Besides, Aristotle and Aquinas can be valuable allies in the war against secularism and hedonism. It is not always wise to adopt the approach recently taken by Roy Jones, vice president of Falwell's Liberty Federation. Debating a libertarian, Jones allowed his opponent to speciously claim the entire domain of reason to justify his laissez faire morality; indeed Jones went so far as to denounce Plato and Locke as godless humanists and to speculate whether they were now in the hot place or the cool place.

Despite all this, the contribution of the Religious Right over the past decade has been enormous. It is not best measured in terms of specific policy victories. There certainly have been some of those. The Christian Right defeated a District of Columbia ordinance liberalizing sex laws. It successfully pressured TV sponsors and the networks to reduce sex and violence in programming. It helped get local laws passed on issues such as gay rights and parental control of textbook content. The religious conservatives even won a couple of important victories for creationism and against secular humanism in court.

But the real change brought about with the help of this group is that they have brought morality and ethics to the forefront of the political debate. To be sure, ethics was a major factor during the Vietnam War and Watergate. But this was a particular view of ethics, and a fairly narrow one at that. It had little to do with religious or personal morality. But today, a politician is held accountable not only for bugging his opponent's office or not filling out the proper tax form, but also for adultery. Textbook publishers find it controversial to eschew mention of religion. Schools are under fire for abandoning moral education and promoting ethical and cultural relativism. Remedial efforts are under way in public education, even with the support of liberal groups in some cases.

Recently Norman Lear told a conference on values education, "For all our alarm, it is clear that the religious right is responding to a real hunger in our society . . . a deep-seated yearning for stable values. . . . When they talk of failures in our educational system, the erosion of our moral standards and the waste of young lives, they are addressing real and legitimate concerns." This from a man who once raised the fascist specter to warn against such groups.

The Legacy of Sodom

Although the religious right has not adequately addressed the philosophical issues connected with morality such as the relationship between private theology and public virtue, nevertheless in raising those issues it has forced others to examine them more seriously. Richard John Neuhaus of the Center on Religion and Society maintains that the fundamentalists have set off a trip wire alerting wide segments of the intelligentsia and the public sphere. Even when the evangelicals are at their most bellicose, as when Jerry Falwell said "If God spares America, he owes an apology to Sodom and Gomorrah," there can be a prophetic wisdom in their words. Certainly the portentous statistics surrounding the AIDS virus suggest that the idea that decadent lifestyles may elicit this-worldly retribution is not out of the question. True, natural disasters randomly prey on the guilty and the innocent, but that does not by

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itself prove that nature and nature's God are always and everywhere undiscriminating.

The New Right and Christian Right have also helped to revive America's founding tradition, a fact worth noting on the occasion of the bicentennial of the Constitution. In fact they can be said to uphold the standards of moral virtue that undergird the entire framework of Western civilization going back to the Greeks.

The five most popular books during America's first 150 years were all religious—John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* Richard Allestree's *The Whole Duty of Man,* Richard Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book,* Lewis Bayly's *The Practise of Pietie,* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* The Founding Fathers may have broken politically with their ancestral and colonial past, but they retained its strong current of moral fervor. Even Thomas Jefferson, in his Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments, proposed castration as a fitting punishment for sodomy, proving that if the man was not a Puritan, neither was he a libertarian.

Despite the variance of their personal beliefs and behavior, the Framers shared a rough consensus about the role of religion and morality in public life. Washington: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. . . . Reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." Jefferson: "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

Here is the irony: these simple people in their powdered hairdos and pink polyester outfits have become the most ardent defenders of the moral grandeur embodied in the Judeo-Christian tradition, a tradition imported to America by the Founding Fathers.

Katherine Helmond, a soap opera actress, announced she was moving back to Britain to escape the tentacles of the Moral Majority.

The future of the New Right and the Christian Right remains cloudy and uncertain. Pat Robertson's likely candidacy for the presidency in 1988 may re-energize the Christian Right, but Robertson also runs the risk of weakening his religious organization by diverting his attention to politics. The recent flaps over Oral Roberts' fundraising techniques and Jim and Tammy Bakker's erotic and exhibitionistic appetites have brought needed criticism against the TV evangelists. The effect of that could either be a lasting stigma, or it could help distinguish the honest pastors from the rogues, the wheat from the chaff.

In any case, at a time when moral issues were totally submerged under a welter of special interest scrambling, the Religious Right came along to invoke the tradition and raise the alarm. The country has responded, and though much remains to be thought about and done, everyone is better off for their coming.

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The Revolt Against Alienation

A New Popular and Traditional Current Sweeps American Culture

Karl Zinsmeister

It is widely accepted that the last decade has seen a revolution in political authority. What is less often recognized is that we have also recently experienced a revolution in cultural authority. By "culture" I mean not only the high culture of the arts, but also popular culture, as well as the more general social, attitudinal and demographic characteristics of a society. In the long term, the recent American cultural shifts will probably have much deeper and longer lasting effects on the nation than any change in day-to-day political configurations.

There has been an important *regionalization* of American culture. In many fields of social, intellectual and artistic importance—popular music and the theater being cases in point—this nation's center of gravity has shifted away from New York, Hollywood, the Ivy League, and other formerly dominant centers, and toward regions whose cultural traditions were previously neglected or scorned.

Next there has been a *democratization* of culture. The controlling role of elites has diminished. Thanks to greater affluence and education, and new institutions and technologies—such as independent cable broadcasting networks—opportunities once available only to the privileged are becoming common. Larger numbers of average people are involved in shaping the national culture.

Finally, a *renewed traditionalism* can be detected in important areas of American culture, applying age-old perspectives that in recent years have been overlooked or downplayed. This includes everything from an emphasis on personal character in literature to an interest in ornament on buildings. Without abandoning bold new forms, New Traditionalists are returning to some timeless underlying themes.

Regionalization of American Culture

The 1970s and early 1980s saw a large migration of population from the northeastern quarter of the United States to the South and the West. The shift out of the Northeast was accompanied by a decline in the number of people living in cities of 500,000 or more. In 1970, 30 percent of Americans resided in two dozen or so really big cities. By 1980, only 25 percent did. With the people went money. Disparities in per capita income across regions have been reduced, corporate headquarters have been dispersing, jobs, and production and financial resources have been spread more evenly across the country.

Not only the nation's population and economic base but also its creative and spiritual center has shifted toward the South (America's religious and traditionalist base) and the West (the nation's libertarian individualist bastion). Once-remote provinces have joined mainstream America, and become exporters, not just importers, of cultural influence. The liberal establishment's heartland—the old Northeast and major urban areas—is now less like a big brother than an equal partner.

Little things demonstrate the regionalization of American culture. Harvard's partner atop the list of largest college endowments is now the University of Texas at Austin. The world's richest art museum is no longer New York's Metropolitan, but the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California. The America's Cup no longer belongs to Newport, Rhode Island and the New York Yacht Club, but to San Diego, California.

The American theater gives a striking example of regionalization. The presently sorry state of the New York musical is well known. What is less often acknowledged is the extent to which New York City has also ceased to be a source of serious drama. New York, the mother of American theater, has fallen sterile.

Thankfully, however, the rest of the country has grown fecund. Regional theaters, many of them repertory companies which knit players, directors, and designers into cohesive units over extended periods of time, have become the hothouses of the American stage. They are developing the new playwrights, actors and directors. Remarkably, they are also staging the most authoritative new productions of classic scripts.

Among the most exciting regional theaters today are the Long Wharf of New Haven, Connecticut; Actors' Theater of Louisville, Kentucky; Steppenwolf Theater and the Goodman Theater in Chicago; Center Stage of Baltimore; Trinity Theater in Providence, Rhode Island; Arena Stage in Washington, D.C.; The Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis.

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There are hundreds of other companies like them across the country, most of them founded in the last decade or two.

A similar development has taken place in the field of popular music. Strong regional music centers have sprung up all over the nation, in places like Athens, Georgia; Austin, Texas; Tucson, Arizona; Hoboken, New Jersey; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota; and Boston, Massachusetts. Bands from these areas, whether playing rockabilly or go-go or newgrass, are drawing on local musical traditions and regional and ethnic interpretations to form their music. The result has been a burst of cowboy-flavored rock, pop *polkeros* music, a revival of acoustic (as opposed to electric) instrumentation in country, even gospel songs from groups as unlikely as the Violent Femmes.

This new music is not only distinctly "grassroots" in nature, it is also explicitly respectful of older cultural traditions and local, often lapsed, musical idioms. It is, in short, revivalist. Not only are older forms being blended into our new music, but also, in some important cases, older and distinctly less nihilistic cultural messages as well.

Surfing along on this new music wave—and also helping to whip it up—is a clutch of new independent record companies (the "Indies"). Earlier in the 1970s, a handful of large companies in New York and Los Angeles all but monopolized the recording industry. Today a disparate group of young recording entrepreneurs spread from Louisiana to Vermont to northern California have broken that stranglehold. Specializing in one or two musical genres (Celtic at Green Linnet, blues at Alligator, pop revival at Rhino, etc.), the independent labels have taken a vital role in discovering rising musical talent and spawning new forms of popular music. What's more, they have in many cases saved disappearing music (bluegrass, for instance) or created a market for entirely new forms (meditative music from Windham Hill) that would never have taken root in the more trendy major studios.

Regional identity is also important in American literature. America's southern writers and their peculiarly earthy and moral works not only continue to thrive, but have actually grown more important in recent years. Earlier masters such as Robert Penn Warren, Eudora Welty, James Dickey, Walker Percy, Reynolds Price, and Peter Taylor have been joined by newcomers such as Beth Henley, Marsha Norman, and Deborah Pryor—three of our most exciting new playwrights. Writers such as Louise Erdrich demonstrate a powerful distinctive midwestern aesthetic. And the continuing works of individuals such as Thomas McGuane, Sam Shepard, and Larry McMurtry have placed a sprawling, full-blooded, fiercely allegorical western mark upon American literature.

All this activity—in drama, music, and other genres—is indicative of a larger increase in cultural competence around the nation. Political scientists acknowledge that state and local governments are displaying remarkable new capabilities compared to 10 years ago. In a similar way, impressive local leadership, educated populations, broad influence, and new energy have produced a kind of "New Federalism" in cultural matters.

Drawing on decentralized cultural resources, Charleston, South Carolina has built a Spoleto Festival; Middlebury, Vermont has become a national center for foreign language instruction; Minneapolis-St.Paul has developed not one but two internationally-renowned orchestras. Places such as Missoula and Bozeman, Montana; Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Aspen, Colorado; Oxford, Mississippi; and Bloomington, Indiana have become small intellectual and artistic centers in their own right.

Crabs in Santa Fe

Part of what is happening in America may be described as *convergence*. National newspapers (an innovation of the last decade), television networks, traveling exhibits, and ever greater numbers of touring citizens have made us all much more familiar with how the the other 240 million live. It is now possible to get good Mexican food in Baltimore, and soft shell crabs in Santa Fe. Country music is now available in the city, and city music in the country. William F. Buckley, Jr. is almost as well known in Kansas City as in New York; Robert Penn Warren as widely read in New Hampshire as in Kentucky.

This nation's center of gravity has shifted away from New York, Hollywood, the Ivy League, and other formerly dominant centers, and toward regions whose cultural traditions were previously neglected or scorned.

This sharing of cultural traditions has added richness, variety and choice to our lives. There is the concern that experience-pooling of this sort may come at the expense of local identity. No one wants a country of uniform texture, mass produced and repetitive from sea to shining sea. Indeed if you were transported to the epicenter of a typical James Rouse-built "festival marketplace" mall, it would be difficult to know from the milieu whether you had landed in Missouri or Massachusetts.

Nonetheless, the example of the last decade suggests that we have less to worry about in this regard than might have been expected. America still displays tremendous variegation, in speech, in religious practice, in ethnic composition, living patterns, personal values, even in tastes in music, food, and leisure activities, for which national norms are heavily advertised and promoted. (Southerners, we are told, continue to entertain at home. Northeasterners go out. Automobile sales vary so much by region that in the last few years manufacturers have developed special models available only in particular states.)

Consider what happened over the last decade or so in American attitudes toward ethnicity. Conventional theories of ethnic identity suggest that over time, universal

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education, mass communication, and other standardizing influences of modern life will erase ethnic distinctions. This, however, has not been the recent U.S. experience. In the 1980 census, 83 percent of Americans reported some ethnic identification, a result scholars described as "startling."

It is particularly remarkable that this happened during a great boom in ethnic intermarriage. In 1980, 46 percent of Americans of European origin were married to someone whose ancestry did not overlap at all with their own. Americans have retained their strong sense of who they are, and where they come from, but without being narrow-minded toward other groups.

Not only the nation's population and economic base but also its creative and spiritual center has shifted toward the South (America's religious and traditionalist base) and the West (the nation's libertarian individualist bastion).

The surprising durability of ethnic identification in our modern society would seem to ratify the view that the most important components of self-identity are the intimate, the local, the peculiar. It suggests that people do not think of themselves as uniform, and that such things as ethnicity, family ties, religious participation, and community role represent our deepest and dearest expressions. By holding to our private inclinations on these matters we revolt against the alienation and anonymity that modern society presses upon us.

The Narcissism of Modern Art

The last decade has brought a broadening of the base of the cultural pyramid, a new pluralism, a new devolution of resources. All this is true not only in a regional sense, but in a hierarchical sense as well. In the last decade or so, the voices and perspectives of common people have received a greater consideration in cultural matters than they enjoyed in the recent past.

As it evolved, one of the central features of what came to be called Modernism was a detachment from everyday life and the concerns of everyday people. Much modern art displays an aggressive, scornful contempt for the way average people live. The shock quality which characterizes so much modern art—absolutely blank white canvases, nude musicals, brutal iron sculpture, gratuitously profane literature, atonal and arhythmic music—is usually employed in an attempt to jolt viewers out of what the artist considers a life of mindless conventionalism.

Further exaggerating this patronizing tendency was Modernism's solipsistic root. Many Modernists believed that the only appropriate subject for art was the artist's personal experience of the world. Objective qualities were de-emphasized and conventions such as line, plot and rhythm were rejected. As a result, many modern art objects are without universal meaning or broad human appeal. Often they function as little more than position papers answering some critic or salon rival.

The dictates of modern art theory were reinforced by the ghettoization of artists. Always distanced from the world around them by their exceptional gifts, artists suddenly found intellectual justification for a complete break with daily affairs and conventions. This has evolved in the present day into a situation where the production of literature, for example, rather than being an imperative flowing from life experiences, has become a professional trade, transacted by a writing caste trained at "writing schools" and writing "workshops," and supported by university "creative writing programs."

Without patrons and often oblivious to audience, modern artists became isolated, self-governing, largely removed from intercourse with average people. This isolation insulated artists from the normal disciplining forces that have defined and educated the human condition throughout history. Convinced there was little out there worth connecting with, artists lost contact with a vast body of edifying experience in the workaday world.

But while anti-social work still pervades much of contemporary cultural production, there is evidence of important change afoot in many areas. An interesting case in point is what is happening in architecture. Architecture is perhaps the most intimate of the arts. Winston Churchill once said that first we shape our buildings and then they shape us. Knowing that after the architect walks away from his drafting table, a human being will have to live for decades with the vista, airflow, and layout he creates, it is hard to understand how architecture could ever venture far into the land of anti-popularism.

Yet venture it did. The so-called International School that dominated American building from World War II through the 1970s started from the premise that structural form should more closely follow a building's function. In practice this soon led to a complete abandonment of ornament and a collapse into architectural facelessness. Buildings stripped down to their steel and glass frames had the visual signature of microwave ovens.

These graceless structures were often oppressive places to live in or near. A sculptor trained at the Yale School of Architecture in the late 1960s tells how his Bauhaus-schooled professors would go to any length not to use words such as 'window' or 'door.' Instead, they would speak of 'openings' or 'voids.'

If students found this linguistic sparseness difficult, imagine the amusement of workers and residents who had to occupy actual buildings bereft of such homey touches as "openings." When the Internationalists were allowed to inflict their forbidding vision on a cityscape, the product was often a structure that made the typical American elementary school building look inspired. In the worst cases, the results were anomie, even visual terror.

One of the clearest examples of this unrepentant terror-

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izing is a building erected at the very heart of an International Style camp—Yale University's Art and Architecture building designed by Paul Rudolph and completed in 1963. Despite all the talk of functionalism, the building's most distinguishing mark is its disregard, even scorn, for the interests of its users. The site is ringed with high concrete walls and its entrance is hard even to locate. Forget about being welcomed. Once inside, one encounters a maze constructed entirely of unfinished concrete that looks as if the owner ran out of money before the wall surfaces could be applied. The elevator, stair, and airflow systems are inadequate. The structure leaks badly, it is dusty, and poorly heated and cooled. Visible deterioration is rampant.

The building has been disliked by Yale's New Haven neighbors from the start and has unquestionably contributed its bit to strained university-city relations. As such it nicely illustrates the central conflict that has dogged avant-garde architecture until recent years—namely the use of public buildings by elites to make philosophical statements without regard to the concerns or needs of the recipient public.

Just Plain Ugly

A similar example comes from the world of outdoor sculpture. Richard Serra has constructed a series of large rusted iron works around the country. Perhaps his best known is a simple 12-foot high, 120-foot long steel wall that bisects Federal Plaza in Manhattan, entitled "Tilted Arc." The work was commissioned by the U.S. General Services Administration for $175,000 in the late 1970s and put in place in 1981. The piece makes it impossible to cross the plaza, obstructs sight lines, is visually intimidating, and just plain ugly.

Within a few years the sculpture had drawn 7,000 written complaints from New Yorkers. Other Serra pieces elsewhere in the country have provoked similar public reactions. One entitled "Twain" installed on The Mall in St. Louis in 1978 has, like Tilted Arc, been reviled from above, and vandalized, urinated on, and spray painted from below. Serra and his defenders have dismissed the criticism as ignorant philistinism, as the work of narrow-minded censors.

In truth, the resistance has been remarkably broad, and limited in its demands: namely that these aggressive works, which were imposed without any consultation whatever from the local community, be moved to places where they are wanted (wherever that might be). Modernists have often "challenged the conventional assumptions" of their audience with works calculated to shock and insult. But on those occasions when the audience rebuts the affront, they are usually unwilling to accept the response. Only artists have the right to criticize, goes this implicit reasoning. When average people do so it is obscurantism.

Returning to History

By now, the revolt against Modernism has gone beyond average people and penetrated into elite circles as well. As a counterpoint to the 1970's tale of Richard Serra, consider the 1980's story of Raymond Kaskey. Educated at Carnegie-Mellon University and the Yale School of Architecture,

Wide World Photos

The Tilted Arc in New York
Progressives call it "art"

Kaskey calls himself a "reformed Modernist," a convert to allegorical figuration. He came to public attention when he won a major competition for a large sculpture to adorn what may be the most famous building of the 1980s—the Portland, Oregon municipal office structure designed by post-Modernist architect Michael Graves.

Kaskey's design called for a 30-foot-high crouching maiden, christened "Portlandia," of flowing hair and robes. It drew sharp fire from the established Modernist avant-garde in Portland, as Graves' building had earlier. At the last public meeting of the sculpture selection committee one artist in attendance noted that both of the two finalists—Kaskey and Richard Savini—were conservative figurative artists, and suggested that their proposals ought to be "thrown out" on the grounds that their styles had "died of old age" more than a hundred years earlier. The selection committee stood fast, as it had with Graves.

Responding to this line of criticism, Kaskey argued that if Modernism was "all about inventing yourself," then his interest was in "keeping everything everybody else does." "The more the artist loses himself in the great tradition of Western sculpture, to the point almost of anonymity, the more I like it. . . . The tradition is 2,000 years old, it is part of our minds, part of the baggage we carry around in our heads. Why not use it?" In practice, neither Kaskey, nor Graves, nor any of the other leaders of the move away from Modernism is doing anything nearly so simple as taking dictation from the past. These new artists are putting distinctive temporal stamps on their work, but doing so within a common inherited language. And with the antecedents of these contemporary commentaries visi-

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ble, many observers find them all the richer and more biting.

What is now called "post-Modern" architecture is characterized by the use of historical details, and an attention to decoration and finishing, combined with a highly personal, even quirky, style. Without forgetting how to inspire, and to provoke, post-Modernist architecture frankly aspires to be comfortable, to receive occupants intimately. While Internationalist buildings were, by definition, empty of local content, post-Modernists make frequent reference to popular and vernacular styles. "Learning from Las Vegas," (and Salem and Santa Fe and many other places) as Robert Venturi urged, they refer directly to their sources, but with comment. So doing, they have created the first American architecture since Frank Lloyd Wright.

Mario Vargas Llosa drew sustained applause when he criticized Latin American writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez for their loyalty to Fidel Castro.

In regaining common cultural symbols, the new architecture has done much to reclaim common sense. For instance: in the midst of the national nervous breakdown that extended from the mid-1960s to the mid 1970s, it was decided that Washington, D.C.'s fine Union Station railroad terminal ought to be turned into a national visitors' center. Executed in the common language of train stations everywhere, the station is a huge structure complete with white marble pillars and cavernous central hall. It is hard to imagine now that when—not much more than a decade ago—plans were made to reuse the vacant structure, they included a scheme to rip up the lovely old marble floor and install a sub-terranean wall-to-wall carpeted "pit" for audio-visual presentations. Compound curves and mod earth tones abounded. The overall effect was as if Peter Max, Andy Warhol, and Marimekko had redecorated St. Peter's Basilica.

Today we occasionally have problems with too much preservation-for-preservationism's sake, at the expense of authoritative contemporary vision. But on the whole, the new interest in retaining and adapting the best of existing structures, so clear in present-day architecture, is a healthy sign of our return to sanity. Incidentally, Union Station is being redone again, and it promises to be magnificent in serpentine and gold leaf.

The New Cultural Democracy

If common sense has returned to American culture it may be partly because people possessing that quality have entered both the consuming and producing segments of the established structure. Technological change has been part of this. Cable and satellite television have broken the programming control of the old central elites. A proliferation of remotely-accessible knowledge bases containing everything from library bibliographies to Census data has democratized scholarship. Thanks to the advent of cheap, high-quality computer-based "desktop publishing," a torrent of new newsletters, literary journals, and small magazines has rained down all across the country. This dispersion of access to information is significant, of course, because increasingly, authority flows from information.

It's astonishing how far the decentralization of cultural influence has gone in some areas. The *New York Times* recently carried an article chronicling the emergence of a cassette tape music underground. Thanks to the advent of cheap multi-track recorders it is now possible to set up a professional-quality recording studio for very little money. Because cassettes are cheap to reproduce and easily mailable, they have become a popular medium for self-produced music and recitation. The *Times* reported that the cassette underground includes its own established clearinghouses, its own cassette-only radio programs, its own newsletters and magazines, and a vast cohort of devoted musicians and followers. "This is a true cottage industry," stated cassette musician Hal McGee. "I record on a cassette and copy on cassettes—the whole means of production stays in my hands . . . there are thousands and thousands of other people doing it too. They're not waiting around for the big recording companies to tap them on the shoulder and give them the right to communicate with the rest of the world."

Another striking example of the last decade's new egalitarianism is what has happened to the classical music industry. Stars such as Kiri te Kanawa, Herbert von Karajan, James Galway, Christopher Hogwood, Placido Domingo, Neville Mariner, Jean Pierre Rampal, Luciano Pavarotti, Yo Yo Ma, and many others now sell recordings like rock n' rollers, appear regularly on television, and have huge popular followings. The number of American opera companies has risen from 807 to 1,123 in 10 years, and attendance has climbed from 8 to 14 million.

One of the biggest innovations in the record business in recent years has been the arrival of the "budget classical tape," pioneered by the Moss Music Group, selling for between $3 and $4. The efforts of both public radio stations and savvy private networks such as Parkway and RKO have put classical music on the airwaves all over the country. Not only more classical music but also a greater variety of other musical forms has been supported by a large jump in the number of FM-band broadcasters over the last decade or so.

Respect for the Vernacular

The New Cultural Democracy then, is not the result of some crude pandering to the least ambitious. It is a natural product of rising aspirations and affluence, part of an era where "every man is an aristocrat." And it is comprised not only of a "commonization" of high culture, but of a growing respect for vernacular culture as well as folklore. Increasingly, Americans seem to share poet Patrick Kavanaugh's sentiment that "ordinary things wear lovely wings—the peacock's body's common."

There is no reason to think a popularization of culture

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of the type we are now experiencing will mean a dilution of merit. Common people in this country have been dignified by the trust placed in them by our nation's progenitors; and wide opportunity has allowed them to translate that dignity into capability. Many average Americans possess not only a reservoir of good sense but also deep inspiration and strong authentic vision. Much of our cultural innovation has come from modest, even faceless, individuals. Consider the evolution of the remarkable American musical forms of ragtime, blues, jazz. These were, for the most part, organic products of an entire social and regional class, not the innovations of brilliant patriarchs.

What is more, most of the legitimately great figures of American culture have been recognized and embraced by the general public. Twain, Eakins, Sousa, Longfellow, Emerson, Gershwin, Dickinson (once published), these were not men and women whose reputations depended upon elite champions. They spoke directly to and about Americans, and Americans spoke back.

It was only relatively recently that tickets on Broadway began to cost $50, that writers began to write for awards juries and tenure committees, that significant numbers of American artists and cultural propagators came to believe that sympathy and understanding from the general public was unimportant. The new rising popularism is in part a reaction against smugness. In both its productive and its consuming aspects it injects new judgment, and reduces hegemonic control of American culture by sometimes decadent, inbred, and narcissistic elites.

On many subjects the grassroots have greatly outflanked the cultural solons. Consider the situation in moviehouses, where American audiences (and their faithful servants, the producers) are hungrily consuming movies like "Top Gun," "Hoosiers," "Rocky," "Tightrope," "River's Edge," "Trading Places," "Ghostbusters," "An Officer and a Gentleman," " Red Dawn," "Rambo," and "Chariots of Fire." These films vary widely in seriousness and in quality, but they are distinctive in their non-liberal political messages. They are anti-bureaucratic and pro-entrepreneurial ("Ghostbusters," "Rocky," "Trading Places"), they treat religion sympathetically ("Chariots of Fire," " Hoosiers"), they attack crime ("Tightrope"), they frankly admire military values ("An Officer and a Gentleman," "Top Gun"), they are anti-Communist ("Top Gun," "Red Dawn," "Rambo"), they praise rural virtue ("Hoosiers"), they worry over the disintegration of the family ("Tightrope," "River's Edge"). And they are as disliked by critics as they are loved by audiences.

Moral Majority As Counterculture?

In some areas, the new cultural ideas have rooted firmly within the establishment, as in the case of architecture. In others, the establishment has been stormed from without (film), or a parallel establishment has been set up (regional pop music centers, for instance). In these bottom-up cases, the new efforts may perhaps best be thought of as *counter*-cultural, as working as much *against* a prevailing idea as for an alternative.

This may be the best way, for example, to think of the whole Moral Majority phenomenon. Moral Majority members and leaders had some positive vision of the world, but most of all, they knew what they *didn't* believe. The critical elements were not political, but cultural. The impetus for the Moral Majority came from people who just got tired of turning on their televisions each day, opening their magazines and books, stepping into their schools and government halls and finding no affirmation of the principles they held dear. After decades of cultural submission and retreat into small hard shells, they learned the lessons of organization and protest pioneered by the left during the 1960s and 1970s.

If we cannot get our programs on CBS, they said, we will set up our own networks. And they did, to the tune of 50 million regular viewers. They built up a little-known network of publishers and bookstores. They organized schools (20,000, teaching 4.5 million students). They geared up politically. It is ironic to think of these religious, politically conservative, ethically traditional, socially conventional people as a counterculture, but in the climate of the times that is indeed what they came to represent. To those outside their community the realization of how broad and self-contained it was came late, and seemed threatening. In truth, however, theirs were simply status-affirming measures, ways of saying "we're good citizens too, and we won't be ignored."

The New Politics of Television

But if the rise of a countercultural reaction to the dramatic shifts of the 1960s and 1970s was predictable, the internal reform by the cultural establishment that we have experienced was somewhat less expected. Think of the way traditional masculinity has roared back as a social ideal in recent years. The decade opened with Alan Alda, Richard Simmons, and Phil Donahue introducing a new softness and introspection to the public character of the American male. It ended with Clint Eastwood, Bruce Springsteen, Rocky, the tough cops of "Hill Street Blues" and "Miami Vice," the wranglers of resurgent Louis L'Amour, the stage characters of America's leading playwrights David Mamet and Sam Shepard, and a set of athlete heroes such as Pete Rose and Steve Garvey putting an edge back on masculinity. Americans have recently been demanding—and getting—much more strength, determination, and protectiveness from their men.

Huey Lewis presents himself as a militantly middle-class family man who wants to play golf and live a quiet personal life with his wife and children.

The two biggest television shows of the early 1970s were "All in the Family" and "M.A.S.H"—funny and brilliantly acted programs which communicated uncharitable messages about middle American life. "All in the Family"

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portrayed marriage, bourgeois values, and traditional institutions as duncical if not ugly. Every week on "M.A.S.H.," the planet's only two decent and honorable men deflated patriotism and a host of other chauvinisms in a way that was impossible not to enjoy. They may have called it the Korean War, but the true enemies were American military types.

Looking for similarly popular shows in the 1980s, one finds the likes of "The Cosby Show" and "Hill Street Blues," programs that are as near moral opposites to their predecessors as can be imagined. "The Cosby Show" gives an endearing endorsement to the possibilities of traditional family life. Mix economic success, self-discipline, and lots of love, and you have a life of meaning. In its pictures from a domestic war (against crime) "Hill Street" has presented a

"The Cosby Show" gives an endearing endorsement to the possibilities of traditional family life. Mix economic success, self-discipline, and lots of love, and you have a life of meaning.

view of human nature as skeptical and tempered as the lets-all-just-be-friends depiction of foreign war by "M.A.S.H." was naive and sanctimonious. Anyone watching those cynical macho cops rousting punk criminals and trying to keep do-gooder lawyers from mucking everything up cannot help but be struck by how far we have traveled from the days of Norman Lear and Alan Alda.

There are even signs of change in the on-screen bedroom. Television producers and writers say they are de-emphasizing sex, and particularly promiscuous behavior. "Social mores are changing, everyone is aware of that," says the producer of "Falcon Crest," "we're just not showing characters jumping from bed to bed." The producer of "L.A. Law" acknowledges that his most libidinal character is "a bit of a dinosaur now. . . . Who knows, by next season [he] may consider getting married." "We've learned too much about unbridled sexual activity," says one screenwriter. Another observer asserts "It's not just AIDS. People have not been happy with . . . the one-night stand."

Language of Meritocracy

Other indications of the new mood in American culture can be seen in the very language in which we now embrace issues. The hottest word of the last half decade, representing our most pressing aspirations, is 'excellence.' Excellence in business, in education, in contests local and international, this is our current mania. Closely related is the full embrace now being given to the concept of 'strength'—a strong military, a strong economy, a strong research sector—these are far more in demand in the 1980s. And think of the nearly universal interest today in 'competitiveness' and the need to *win*. When it's time for prescription we often hear of the need to reassert abandoned fundamental truths, to get "back to basics."

This is the language of meritocracy, of free contest, of forward motion. In it is the notion that there must be losers as well as winners, and that only hard effort and self discipline will separate the two. It is an ancient vocabulary for individualists, cultural traditionalists, and political conservatives, but it was not much in vogue in the previous decade.

Not only the vocabulary but the writers, too, have changed. Probably the most significant development in American (and more generally, Western) letters of the last decade or so is the new prominence of writers of East European origin. In their affirmations of individual conscience in the face of state power and their stinging criticisms of utopian systems, writers such as Joseph Brodsky, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Czeslaw Milosz, and Milan Kundera have profoundly affected the direction of our literature.

The last decade has also seen the emergence of a newly influential strain of writing and writers from Third World countries. Individuals such as Octavio Paz, Mario Vargas Llosa, V.S. Naipaul, Armando Valladares, and Jorge Luis Borges have gained large audiences in the United States and elsewhere for their skeptical critiques of cultural directions in the developing world, and their calls for more inward reflection, private virtue and self-reform.

The British plays that have dominated on Broadway and beyond in recent years are also of a rather different cut from earlier imports. Tom Stoppard's *The Real Thing,* Michael Frayn's *Benefactors,* and Peter Hall's musical adaptation of *Animal Farm* have attacked Stalinism, warned against social engineering, wrestled with questions of marital fidelity, looked skeptically at psychoanalysis, peace movements, urban renewal, and other varieties of modern hubris. All of these developments are tinting our literary culture with new colors.

An interesting weather vane on some of the new dispositions in American literature was provided by the 48th International Congress of PEN (the poets, essayists and novelists organization) held in New York in January, 1986. Interspersed with the predictable pious indignation, including a protest against the presence of George Shultz as keynote speaker, were some very interesting presentations. John Updike made a pastoral speech about small town America and called for close limits on government because of its tendency to stifle individual nonconformity, personal exploration, and expansion. In response to a protest demanding more women on congress panels Nadine Gordimer asserted that "one must be very careful not to make sex or color a standard of literary judgment."

In a defense of Shultz, Norman Mailer called for more open-mindedness and free speech within literary circles, saying "there is a puritanical leftism that's more interested in keeping the house clean, rather than letting anything happen in the house." He added that "one of the ways in which everything is deteriorating is that manners in the world are getting a lot worse." Mario Vargas Llosa drew sustained applause when he criticized Latin American writ-

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NBC Photos

ers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez for their loyalty to Fidel Castro. Saul Bellow contrasted the "fatuous" sense of alienation of many writers with the common concerns of middle class Americans. Amos Oz ripped "the cowardice of the relatively decent societies in confusing themselves with the bloody ones." Vassily Aksyonov defended American opportunity and justice in the face of an attack by Gunter Grass. The assorted leftisms, America bashing, righteous alienation, and Utopianism one expects at gatherings of this sort were all present. But quite unexpectedly, at this congress there was also a concerted response on nearly every occasion. Something closer to a fair contest of ideas was taking place.

Back to the Future

Turning for the moment from the airy concerns of our high literary priests back to popular cultural undertakings, one sees that within important sectors of American culture there is clearly a conscious effort underway to return to cultural roots. Perhaps the clearest case is the rise of what have been called the "New Traditionalists" within country music. Having evolved far away from its sources into a mannered and vapid flabbiness, mass-marketed country music was on its deathbed at the beginning of the 1980s. Today it is alive and on the comeback thanks to people such as Ricky Skaggs, the Judds, George Strait, Dwight Yoakum, Steve Earle, Randy Travis, Jason and the Scorchers, Dolly Parton, Reba McEntire, and Hank Williams, Jr.

These "New Traditionalists" have had an effect on both the medium and the message of their industry. Thematically, they often sing about families, small towns, hard work, love of parents, independence, faith and salvation, rural values, and personal virtue. Their musical influence is based on instrumental spareness and authenticity, and reference back to earlier styles. The most effective songwriters and performers tend to combine literateness with a down-home sensibility.

There are other interesting strands within the new fabric. One is the phenomenon of Christian rock and pop. Individuals such as pop singer Amy Grant, rock and rollers Ed DeGarmo and Dana Key, and even a heavy metal band named Strypper are producing wildly popular music with a direct evangelical Christian message. They are featured on MTV, they wear the camp clothes and hairstyles of their occupation, they draw wide pluralist audiences, but they balladize religion rather than drugs and puppy love.

These days we are hearing some new sentiments even at the very pinnacle of the most mainstream popular music. Huey Lewis has placed himself at the top of the charts with his trademark mantra "It's hip to be square." He presents himself frankly as a militantly middle-class family man who wants nothing so much as to play a lot of golf and live a quiet personal life with his wife and children.

Another important example is rock music's reigning king, Bruce Springsteen. One music critic has written that "Springsteen's shows, his music and his attitudes share with

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his audiences a sort of New Puritanism, a sense of a quasi-religious manifest destiny, and a fundamentalist acceptance of life and its troubles, along with the faith that true belief will bring a better way." Later he remarks, "How unusual it is to hear 20,000 rock fans cheer a performer's rap on why you should love your street and your hometown and your state and your country." At the core of Springsteen's patriotic blue collar music, he concludes, is a yearning for a return to solid values.

Some conservative commentators and politicians, including two named Will and Reagan, have gotten themselves into trouble trying to categorize Springsteen too narrowly as an ally. He and the other individuals I have discussed here are artists, not political philosophers, and their manifestoes can sometimes be inconsistent and just plain confused. Occupying the cultural niches they do, it is not likely many of them go out of their way to vote for conservative politicians. But that is not what matters. The deeper issue is that in previously unlikely places they celebrate themes which are important to cultural conservatives—individual liberty, family ties, anti-bureaucratism, pride in one's community and nation, self-reliance, loyalty to one's neighbors and one's own values. (Springsteen cites the westerns of John Ford as one of his primary stylistic influences.)

Is the New Culture Conservative?

Striking new themes and flavors are rippling through American culture. There has been a regionalization of cultural influence, allowing areas, people, and ideas outside the old establishment to participate more nearly as equals on the national stage. Concurrently, American culture has been democratized, with individuals outside the old closed institutions making their interests and perspectives known. These two developments in combination have resulted in the opening up of the nation's cultural institutions—its museums, universities, broadcasting networks and the like—to a more diverse set of perspectives: less Eastern, less elitist, less secular, less left, less alienated, more representatively American. We are in a newly tolerant, pluralist, culturally representative era.

At the same time the physical barriers have been breaking down, new intellectual currents have been sweeping in—a renewed traditionalism—altering American culture from top to bottom. The perspectives that informed what is known as Modernism in art, architecture, and music are being questioned. There is new interest in history, and in figural and literary realism. There is new skepticism over the claim that human civilization is perfectable through enlightened manipulation by social, political and cultural elites. There is new attachment to ancient institutions and identities that ground human existence in a sense of place and belonging—religion, ethnicity, community and national pride, family ties, pride in one's work, observation of tradition and ritual. These are, of course, many of the same principles that undergird American conservatism.

Just the same, many, even most, of the cultural developments described above have no direct political implications. They are welcomed by many observers simply on the grounds that they bring us new intelligence and beauty, and greater choice.

There is less mono-mindedness in cultural circles today, the stigma of "heresy" is less often applied. When we look to our national culture for inspiration or direction today we are likely to find more viewpoints, a richer compost from which to draw lessons and ideas. This is important in the long run. If you believe, with me, that in the main, culture leads politics—not the reverse—and that art has didactic power (that it is important in defining the possible, the desirable, the laudable) then ultimately, directions in the national arts and culture are felt in the political arena as well as elsewhere.

I emphatically would not want to make the case that the "new traditionalist" musicians, for instance, or our regional theater companies, or any of the other examples of the new culture outlined in this article are themselves "conservative," or that they necessarily have conservative intent in any political sense. But that is often the effect. Some of the new artists—such as Joseph Brodsky, who is a defender of Reagan, or Tom Stoppard, who describes himself as a conservative—are indeed explicit about their right-leaning instincts. But even those described above who are not are nonetheless important to advocates of conservative culture and politics, because the themes they celebrate, the roots they draw upon, are the very ones which underlay and nourish conservative philosophy. Whether intending, or even understanding, the implications, important parts of the American cultural leadership have taken up the conservative critique of modern culture, and in some cases the conservative program as well.

But even that is not the most important implication of the new directions in American culture. For artists, after all, are not political journalists, and ought not be expected to become cheerleaders for political causes. Their ends are more abstract, more distant, more important. Culture need not have conservative content to be conducive to a healthier moment. Indeed, conservatism is devoted to the proposition that, as much as possible, life must be *de*-politicized.

The Irish patriot Patrick Pearce once said that the goal of national freedom is individual freedom, a formulation which recognizes the preeminence of the personal concerns of particular human beings over the theoretical interests of humanity in the abstract. Conservatives have long asserted that private, domestic interests are more fundamental than—come prior to—public, social concerns. The political left, on the other hand, gives precedence to the collectivity, and so argues to varying degrees that art, music, journalism, literature, theater, even social ritual and domestic organization ought to serve political ends, even that they ought to serve specific state interests.

Conservatives have much lower—and higher—expectations of culture. Making us literate, wise, balanced, mindful of our heritage, and respectful of both human possibility and humanity's capacity for evil is sufficient. Since private interests are life's highest interests, by reflecting, respecting and furthering them, art is fulfilling its loftiest role. In other words, art for art's—not politics'—sake.

There is plenty of wacky, repugnant, ugly culture left in this country. But there is no doubt we are experiencing a new moment, and one which carries many hopeful implications for Americans of all stripes.

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PEACE IN OUR TIME

The Spirit of Munich Lives On

MICHAEL JOHNS

The central failure of American conservatism over the past 10 years has been its inability to delegitimize the Soviet Union in the same way the left has delegitimized South Africa. Until the Soviet Union is recognized universally as the dangerous and evil empire that it is, neither the Reagan Administration nor any subsequent conservative administration will be able to achieve such worthy goals as the deployment of a strategic defense, the strengthening of alliances with other free world nations, or the rollback of international Communism through consistent support of freedom fighters.

The foreign policy of the Reagan Administration, of course, has been vastly superior to that of the Carter Administration. Since the humiliation America experienced with the seizing of its embassy in Tehran and culminating in the failed Desert One rescue operation, there has been a genuine restoration of confidence and purpose in America's foreign policy. Our national defense has been reinvigorated; the Soviet empire, which expanded substantially under Carter, has gained no ground in seven years; authoritarian regimes in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific have experienced smooth transitions to democracy; Grenada has been liberated at the invitation of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States; and Libyan terrorism has subsided after a well-orchestrated U.S. precision attack on its military installations.

However, seven years after Ronald Reagan's arrival in Washington, the United States government and its allies are still dominated by the culture of appeasement that drove Neville Chamberlain to Munich in 1938. While President Reagan has eloquently and properly defined the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union as one between good and evil, even he has fallen victim to this culture. The best example is the administration's ongoing obsession with the process of arms control. By allowing the Soviets to place nuclear weapons at the pinnacle of the international political agenda, we have allowed them to divert attention from their human rights record, their denial of democratic participation, and the malefic nature of the Soviet system itself.

It is still widely thought that the peace is endangered unless the United States is negotiating with the Soviets on nuclear capabilities. Yet, nuclear weapons have not killed one million civilians in Afghanistan; nuclear weapons have not sent religious dissidents to psychological camps where their minds are destroyed with mind altering drugs; nuclear weapons have not crushed the Solidarity campaign in Poland; nuclear weapons are not supporting a war on democracy in Latin America; and nuclear weapons did not attempt the assassination of the Pope. These barbarities—only a sampling of many—were initiatives of Soviet Communism, and it is an unblinking awareness of this evil ideology that must govern any discussions we might have with the Soviets. Persistent Soviet aggression—in line with the Leninist dogma of world domination—undercuts the often made argument that nuclear weapons are equally dangerous in the hands of the United States or any western nation.

The "Arms Control" Lie

Arms control agreements would be valuable if they enhanced the security of the United States and its allies. But after 20 years of the "arms control process," clearly this test has not been met. The Soviets have stockpiled enough strategic weapons to destroy almost all U.S. ICBMs and ground-based bombers in a first strike. They are also developing the capability to destroy our submarines and to deploy a missile defense system to reduce the effectiveness of American retaliation.

Furthermore, the voluminous record of Soviet cheating renders the entire process a sham. The Soviets have violated every major treaty they have signed: SALT I, SALT II, ABM, the Helsinki Accords, and the Chemical and Biological Convention. At what point will the allies wake up and acknowledge that the Soviets cannot be trusted to keep agreements? Even the Reagan Administration shrinks from this obvious conclusion. While the administration has spoken favorably of the deployment of a strategic defense, it has also refused to scrap the ABM treaty, which stands in the way of deployment.

Another example of appeasement is the unsteady commitment to freedom in many parts of the world. The Reagan State Department, like the Carter State Department, has consistently opposed aid to anti-Stalinist resistance

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Wide World Photos

TASS/Sovfoto

Hitler and Chamberlain, Gorbachev and U. S. Congressional Delegation

movements in Africa. Though President Reagan finally overruled Chester Crocker and sent aid to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces in Angola, the administration permits American oil companies to pump 300,000 barrels a day at Angola's Cabinda facility, financing the presence of 40,000 Soviet, Cuban, and East German troops in that country.

In Mozambique, the administration is not only denying funds to the resistance, it is sending $78 million in assistance to the pro-Soviet Frelimo government and has approved another $154 million in multilateral support, in the vain hope that such aid would "wean" the regime from Moscow. The success of this effort can be judged by remarks last October of Frelimo leader Joaquim Chissano, who said Frelimo is the "vanguard organization of the worker-peasant alliance of Mozambique, which embodies the revolutionary struggle of the Mozambican people with the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism." Are these the principles that the government of the United States should be supporting?

In South Africa, the State Department has established casual diplomatic contact with a Soviet-backed terrorist group, the African National Congress (ANC). The administration has also condemned South Africa's attacks on ANC training camps, thus revealing its apparent double standard on terrorism. In Namibia, the administration continues to adhere to the Andrew Young plan—U.N. Resolution 435—which recognizes the Soviet-backed SWAPO movement as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. And in Ethiopia, our famine relief program played right into the hands of the Soviet Union, allowing its puppet government, headed by Colonel Mengistu, to selectively distribute food while we denied assistance to the resistance forces.

In the Middle East, the last 10 years have witnessed two efforts by the United States—Carter's in 1978 and to a lesser extent Reagan's in 1982—to prevent Israel from pursuing a total military victory over the PLO in Lebanon. Had the United States not intervened, today Israeli security would be stronger and Lebanon would be more stable. In Iran, the 10-year record is even worse. Preceding the hostage crisis, the Carter Administration downplayed Khomeini's role in international terrorism. Andrew Young, U.S. ambassador at the U.N., even declared Khomeini "somewhat of a saint." Then when American hostages were taken, Carter initially ruled out military force, dragged his feet on economic sanctions, and contradicted himself on negotiations with the captors, first declaring that we would not negotiate and later reneging on that promise. All of this demonstrated that, when push came to shove, the United States would not act decisively in pursuit of its interests, and strengthened anti-American resolve in the Middle East.

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When hostages were taken during the Reagan Administration, the same basic mistakes were repeated. Instead of acting immediately and decisively on behalf of the hostages, the administration was drawn into a labyrinth of negotiating arms for their release. It continued to sell Iranian "moderates" more weapons, only to see more hostages taken.

Even the Reagan Administration's Nicaraguan policy has been governed by a spirit of appeasement and isolationism. As Congress procrastinated on aid to the contras and the administration began talks with the Sandinistas in Manzanillo, Mexico, the Soviets deployed Cuban-manned assault helicopters, battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, and anti-aircraft missiles in Nicaragua without resistance; the administration did not even attempt to prevent the construction of threatening military airports—such as the one at Punta Huete—that are able to accommodate the largest aircraft in the Soviet air force.

From 1980 to the present, the Soviets have sent $2 billion in military assistance to the ruling Leninists, the Sandinistas, allowing them to tighten their grip over the Nicaraguan people. Meanwhile, the administration refuses to endorse the overthrow of the illegitimate Sandinista tyranny. There has been talk of aiding the contras to cut off gunrunning to Salvadoran guerrillas, to bring about some mythical open election, and to strengthen our prospects at the bargaining table. But not once was Churchill's word—"victory"—used in describing our goals. Up against the ropes in the Iran-contra hearings, the administration should have come out swinging, announcing clearly that this government proudly carries itself in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette; that freedom fighters will no longer be left to die in the jungles—like Brigade 2506 at the Bay of Pigs—waiting for American support. Had Ronald Reagan said these things, can anyone doubt that the media hysteria surrounding the Iran-contra affair would have gone the way of the hula-hoop?

But, of course, that is not what happened. The administration has responded defensively, and has continued to embrace negotiations with Nicaragua as if anything good could come of them. Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution, the negotiating process with the Soviets and their surrogates has proven an unmitigated disaster for the United States and its allies. From Yalta, where Roosevelt sold out Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe to Stalin, to the Paris peace talks, where North Vietnam signed an agreement it had no intention of following, the Soviets have used negotiations as a means of expanding their empire. Today, the Arias plan is a perfect example of how a "negotiated settlement" can be used to cut off the freedom fighters while consolidating Soviet influence in Nicaragua. The United States cannot be a partner in a plan like this—our obligation lies with those combatting Communist tyranny.

The last 10 years have also been host to individual cases of appeasement—-less devastating, perhaps, in the long haul—but equally indicative of our flawed thinking process. The State Department ordered that Miroslav Medvid be returned to the Soviet ship from which he twice jumped in an effort to defect. The Reagan Administration, fearful of endangering the forthcoming Reykjavik meeting, refused to act decisively on behalf of Nicholas Daniloff. Instead, the President made a deal—freeing a Soviet spy, Gennadiy Zakharov—and then denied that any deal had been made. And then, of course, there have been the more barbaric activities to which the United States did not respond: the shooting down of the Korean airliner, the 1981

Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution, the negotiating process with the Soviets and their surrogates has proven an unmitigated disaster for the United States and its allies.

crackdown on Solidarity, the institutionalization of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and the murder of Major Nicholson in East Germany. Even when the security of the American embassy in Moscow was in jeopardy, the United States declined to act forcefully by demanding a secure compound. Meanwhile, we have allowed the Soviets to contruct their massive embassy compound atop Mt. Alto, the second highest location in Washington, from which their espionage activities will be greatly facilitated.

The Culture of Appeasement

Our inability to abandon the failed appeasement policies of the past might simply represent the shortcomings of weak-willed public servants, but more likely it reflects a deeply rooted crisis in the West's culture and values. The inability of Ronald Reagan, a man who spent three decades speaking the truth about Soviet Communism, to alter fundamentally our erroneous policies toward the Soviet Union suggests a much greater problem.

Today, in our schools and universities, in our media and television culture, in our churches and synagogues, and in popular film and music, our nation's young people are told that morals are relative, that the acknowledgement of "good and evil" is simplistic, and that our objective as citizens is the pursuit of "peace," not honor, virtue, or freedom. Consequently, worthy values such as altruism, patriotism, anti-Communism, and faith in God are being replaced with hedonism, selfishness, anarchy, and atheism. Our foreign policy is only a logical extension of our nation's diluted values.

The coming 10 years need not belong to the forces of Leninism and totalitarianism, but if we are to ensure that they do not, the culture of appeasement must be replaced with an emphasis on liberty throughout the world. In pursuit of that objective, there can be no compromise.

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One Hundred Conservative Victories in America

Adam Meyerson

1977

Back to Educational Basics. Following lead of California and Colorado in 1975, nearly 20 states respond to declining educational test scores by enacting minimum competency standards as a condition for receiving a high school diploma. By 1980, nearly 40 states have such tests.

July 14. **Kemp-Roth.** Representative Jack Kemp and Senator William Roth introduce bill calling for 30 percent reduction in income tax rates over three years. A variation of Kemp-Roth, introduced by Senator Sam Nunn, passes Senate on October 10, 1978, but dies in conference.

1978

January 17. **Pyrrhic Defeat on Panama Canal.** Backed by direct mail efforts of Richard Viguerie and American Conservative Union, "Panama Canal Truth Squad" of 20 Congressmen organized by Senator Paul Laxalt and Representative Phil Crane leaves on nationwide tour to mobilize opposition to giveaway of Panama Canal. Treaty later passes, and probably helps in struggle against Communism in Central America, but opposition becomes important symbol of Americans' rejection of a foreign policy of surrender.

February 8. **Defeat of Naderites.** Tide turns against increasing regulation of business as House rejects Carter legislation for "Office of Consumer Representation" that would institutionalize a Naderite presence in all government deliberations.

May 23. **Court Restrains OSHA.** Dealing blow against abuse of regulatory power, Supreme Court rules that Bill Barlow had the right to toss OSHA inspectors out of his Idaho plumbing and heating shop because they had not obtained a warrant.

June 6. **Proposition 13.** Modern tax revolt begins with passage of Proposition 13, over opposition of California's political and business establishment, sharply limiting state's skyrocketing property taxes. Opponents of tax cuts discredited as measure leads to economic prosperity and burgeoning state revenues.

June 8. **Solzhenitsyn at Harvard.** Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in commencement address at Harvard University, berates the Western world for its materialism, man-centered irreligiousness, and loss of civic courage in doing battle against evil.

June 22. **Union Power Grab Stopped.** Filibuster led by Senator Orrin Hatch stops labor law "reform" bill that would have allowed NLRB to impose wage increases on companies in the absence of a contract, and would have allowed unions to organize in workplace during work hours.

July 27. **Slash in Capital Gains Tax.** Passage of Steiger Amendment reduces capital gains taxes from 49 percent to 28 percent, instead of raising them as Jimmy Carter wanted. Measure revives moribund venture capital industry and leads to explosion of new issues on Wall Street, thus playing indispensable role in high-tech entrepreneurial boom of 1980s.

October 24. **Airline Deregulation.** Jimmy Carter signs legislation allowing airlines flexibility to change prices and route structures, and providing for elimination of Civil Aeronautics Board, which went out of business on December 31, 1984.

November 7. **Harbinger of Reagan Landslide.** Defeat of Senators Dick Clark and Thomas McIntyre gives first sign of coming tidal wave sweeping ultra-liberals from elective office in conservative and moderate states.

1979

Fall. **Aid to Mujahideen.** Carter Administration begins sending aid to Afghan mujahideen. Over initial opposition of CIA, Reagan Administration begins sending Stinger anti-aircraft missiles in spring 1986.

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November. **Kirkpatrick in *Commentary*.** Jeane Kirkpatrick's *Commentary* article, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," reveals hypocrisy and inefficacy of Carter human rights policy, and later leads to her appointment by President Reagan as Ambassador to the United Nations.

November to July 1980. **Registration of Evangelicals.** Moral Majority and other Christian Right organizations register 2.5 million evangelical voters, making possible Reagan landslide of November 1980.

December 12. **Carter's Turnaround on Defense.** Reversing course, Carter announces he will ask for 5 percent increase in defense spending in fiscal 1981. "My first concern and that of every American President," he proclaims, "is and must be the security of our nation."

1980

January 3. **SALT II Abandoned.** Carter asks majority leader Robert Byrd to defer action on SALT II, which could not achieve ratification in Democrat-controlled Senate in face of anti-SALT campaigns by Conservative Caucus and Committee on the Present Danger.

January 11. **Friedman on Prime Time.** First episode of Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose" series airs on Public Broadcasting System, dramatizing for millions the connections between liberty and capitalism.

February 26. **Reagan Wins New Hampshire.** Ronald Reagan sews up Republican nomination by beating George Bush two to one in New Hampshire primary, and then replacing campaign manager John Sears with Bill Casey.

April 14. **Bartley Wins Pulitzer.** Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing goes to Robert L. Bartley of *Wall Street Journal,* journalistic quarterback in battle for supply-side economics and against the SALT process.

June 7. **Abbie Hoffman's Nightmare.** First issue of *Dartmouth Review,* the most influential of over 70 conservative newspapers on college campuses across the country.

July 1. **Trucking and Railroad Deregulation.** Carter signs bill deregulating interstate trucking industry, leading to extraordinary reduction in cost of bringing products to market. On October 14, Carter signs Staggers Act deregulating railroad rates and thereby rescuing the railroad industry from impending death.

July 16. **'80 GOP Platform.** Reagan nominated on Republican platform calling for tax cuts, defense buildup, enterprise zones, decontrol of oil and gas prices, and protection of innocent life.

August 19. **IRS Drops Racial Quotas.** Ashbrook-Dornan amendment following storm of protest (including 120,000 letters to Washington) forces Internal Revenue Service to drop proposed guidelines that would have denied tax-exempt status to Christian schools unless they adopted racial quotas.

September 5. **Mothers Get MADD.** Formation of Mothers Against Drunk Driving does much more for auto safety than Ralph Nader ever did. Annual traffic deaths related to alcohol fall by 6,000 or 20 percent from 1980 to 1985, the major reason for 15 percent reduction in overall traffic fatalities.

November 4. **Reagan Landslide.** Political establishment shocked as Reagan carries all but five states and the District of Columbia, and Republicans take charge of Senate, gaining 13 seats. Defeat of George McGovern, Frank Church, Birch Bayh, Warren Magnuson, John Culver, and Gaylord Nelson represents victory for New Right groups such as NCPAC who informed voters where these ultra-liberal senators really stood.

November 4. **Landslide II: Tax Revolt and Privatization.** Massachusetts voters limit property taxes to 2.5 percent of assessed valuation, playing major role in Bay State boom over next five years. Voters in Los Angeles County, California, elect new Board of Supervisors that becomes pacesetter in privatization of municipal services.

November 7. **Mandate from Heritage.** Heritage Foundation's *Mandate for Leadership* presents incoming administration with over 2,000 specific proposals, as United Press International put it, for "grabbing the government by its frayed New Deal lapels and shaking out 48 years of liberal policies."

December 29. **"Cuckolded by the Compassionate State."** Publication of George Gilder's *Wealth and Poverty* explains supply-side economics and the conservative case against the welfare state to hundreds of thousands. Book is national best-seller and eventually sells 500,000 copies worldwide.

1981

January 13. **Radio Deregulation.** FCC frees radio stations from several major regulations including specific maximum limits on commercials and minimum percentage requirements for news and public affairs programming.

January 28. **Decontrol of Oil.** Reagan lifts controls on production and allocation of oil. Petroleum prices then were $37 a barrel. Today they are $18 a barrel.

February 5. **600-Ship Navy.** John Lehman takes helm of Navy, instituting program for 600-ship fleet giving American forces capabilities in Indian Ocean they lacked during Iranian hostage crisis, and providing for forward defense "maritime strategy" to deter Soviet aggression by threat of attacks on Soviet naval assets.

March 30. **Reagan Survives Assassin.** Reagan forgets to duck but survives assassin's bullet, bringing good luck back to America.

July 1. **Greenlining Inner Cities.** Governor William O'Neill signs legislation making Connecticut the first of 25

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states to designate enterprise zones promoting inner-city business through lower taxes and reduced regulation.

July 29. **Reagan Tax Victory.** With 48 Democrats defecting, House approves Reagan's 3-year, 25 percent personal income tax cut. Package includes accelerated depreciation allowances and investment tax credits, indexation of personal income taxes beginning in 1984, and individual retirement accounts for all taxpayers, thus laying groundwork for a private-sector alternative to Social Security. An extraordinary economic boom follows implementation of final tax cut on January 1, 1983. Tax cut also transforms political dynamics of Washington by demolishing prospects of major new spending initiatives.

July 31. **Reagan Budget Victory.** Congress approves reconciliation measure chopping $35 billion out of projected spending for Fiscal Year 1982. In only victory for federalism during Reagan Administration, 57 categorical grant programs in health, education, and social services are consolidated into seven block grants.

August 3. **Air Controllers Fired.** Reagan fires 11,000 striking air controllers who refuse to meet his deadline to return to work. "Dammit," he says, "the law is the law, and the law says they cannot strike. If they strike, they quit their jobs." 57 percent of Americans approve of Reagan's stand.

November 15. **ABC Hires Will.** Staunch anti-Communism and sympathy for agenda of social-issues conservatives begin to be heard on major television networks as ABC News brings George Will onto "This Week with David Brinkley."

December 8. **Religion Allowed Back on Campus.** Supreme Court, in *Widmar v. Vincent,* rules that religious student groups have the "free exercise" right to meet on publicly-owned university campuses. Equal Access Act, signed into law on August 11, 1984, provides same right to religious (and nonreligious) student groups meeting on public high school grounds after hours.

1982

January 8. **Bigness No Longer Bad.** Department of Justice drops antitrust suits against AT&T and IBM. Contrary to critics' predictions, computer and telecommunications industries become even more competitive and innovative.

February 6. **Sontag Says Conservatives Right about Communism.** Literary critic Susan Sontag berates New York intellectual world for failure to understand that Communism is "the most successful variant of Fascism." Argues that subscribers to *Reader's Digest* learn more about realities of Communism than readers of *The Nation.* "Could it be that our enemies were right?"

February 19. **Parental Control.** Parents regain some control over moral education of their children as Reagan Administration requires family planning clinics that receive federal funds to notify parents of children under 18 when they receive prescription contraceptive pills and devices.

April 23-25. Federalist Society. National symposium of conservative law students at Yale leads to founding of Federalist Society, a nationwide network of young conservative lawyers and law students.

May 17. **Washington Times.** First issue of *Washington Times* rolls off press, giving Washingtonians a conservative alternative to the *Post* and often scooping its competition on major stories.

June 8. **Westminster Address.** Reagan, in address before British Parliament, calls for a National Endowment for Democracy and a world crusade for freedom. "The march of freedom and democracy," he prophesies, "will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history as it has left other tyrannies which stifle the freedom and muzzle the self-expression of the people."

June 30. **Defeat of ERA.** Equal Rights Amendment defeated when extended deadline passes with only 35 of needed 38 states ratifying. Victory for coalitions led by Phyllis Schlafly, who argued that political issues involving distinction between men and women—such as combat duty for women, the legal status of single-sex schools, or the laws governing divorce settlements—should be resolved by legislatures instead of courts. ERA supporters later lose battle to resurrect amendment when Vermont voters overwhelmingly reject state ERA on November 4, 1986.

August. **Reagan Boom.** Beginning of most sustained economic expansion in modern U.S. history, totally unpredicted by Keynesian economists, leads to generation of 13 million new jobs over next five years.

October 20. **Stigler Wins Nobel.** George Stigler of University of Chicago wins Nobel Economics Prize for his seminal work on political economy of regulation, particularly the capture of regulatory agencies by industries they are supposed to regulate.

December 10. **U.S. Nixes Law of Sea.** U.S. refuses to sign Law of the Sea treaty that would hand control of sea-bed mining to United Nations.

1983

Taming of Inflation. Stagflation of 1970s disappears, as increase in consumer price index falls to 3.2 percent, down from 13.5 percent in 1980.

March 8. **Evil Empire.** Reagan calls Soviet Union an evil empire in speech before convention of National Association of Evangelicals. Also refers to American racism as "legacy of evil."

March 23. **Strategic Defense Initiative.** Reagan offers practical hope to the world that the miracles of modern electronics can lessen dangers of nuclear war. Bypassing Pentagon and State Department bureaucracies, his Strategic Defense Initiative forces major rethinking of the nature of deterrence and the best means of achieving arms con-

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UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Cuban "construction workers" sent packing from Grenada

trol. SDI gives focus to previously uncoordinated research that may be able to protect America and its allies against Soviet nuclear arsenal without having to rely on mutual assured destruction and Soviet promises to comply with treaties.

October 25. **Liberation of Grenada.** United States liberates Grenada at request of eight neighboring Caribbean nations, preventing consolidation of Leninist government that would have become major Soviet base for destabilizing region. Three days later, rescued American medical students kiss U.S. soil. On December 3, 1984, Grenada holds free elections in which 90 percent of voters support candidates who approved of U.S. intervention.

1984

Crime Rate Falls. After nearly steady rises through most of 1960s and 1970s, crime rates fall for fourth straight year. Number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants falls by 15 percent from 1980 to 1984.

January 16. **Grace Commission Report.** Grace Commission releases 23,000 page report on government waste and inefficiency. Makes 2,478 recommendations that could save $424 billion over three years.

January 23. **Soviet Treaty Violations Reported.** First official report of Soviet violations of arms control treaties is presented to Congress by President Reagan.

February 21. **Tribute to Chambers.** Medal of Freedom awarded posthumously to Whittaker Chambers, witness to the threat of Communism in America.

June 12. **Demise of Industrial Policy.** Rhode Island voters reject by four to one a referendum to establish a state "industrial policy"—proving there is no political support for Gary Hart's major "new idea."

June 26. **Aid to El Salvador.** Seven weeks after free elections in El Salvador that congressional liberals insisted would never take place, Congress finally approves urgent supplemental aid to Salvadoran military, preventing country from falling to Communist guerrillas.

July 5. **Exception to Exclusionary Rule.** Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Leon* allows "good faith" exception to exclusionary rule letting even the most dangerous criminals go free when evidence against them has been obtained illegally. Such evidence can now be used in court if police had search warrant and thought they were acting legally.

July 11. **Conservative Environmental Policy.** Report by President's Council on Environmental Quality demonstrates ecological benefits that would result from privatization of many federal lands.

August 20. **"Blame America First."** Jeane Kirkpatrick's "Blame America First" speech at GOP Convention accuses "San Francisco Democrats" of betraying foreign policy ideals of Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy and instead blaming America for crimes of Communists and terrorists.

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September 27. **Losing Ground.** Publication of Charles Murray's *Losing Ground* dramatizes argument that hundreds of billions in Great Society spending have failed to improve the lot of America's poor.

October 12. **Reagan Anti-Crime Bill.** Reagan signs sweeping anti-crime legislation toughening federal provisions for bail, parole, and sentencing, and establishing forfeiture of assets used in commission of crime.

November 6. **Reagan's Landslide Reelection.** Ronald Reagan carries 49 states in landslide reelection, as Walter Mondale suffers most overwhelming defeat since Alf Landon and George McGovern. Unfortunately, Reagan's mandate for his second term is limited by themelessness of his campaign.

1985

Alms Buildup. Americans in this supposed "Age of Greed" give $75 million in charitable contributions, a 50 percent increase over 1980.

February 6. **Bennett's Bully Pulpit.** Confirmation of Bill Bennett as Secretary of Education dramatically changes federal role in education. Reversing predecessors' goal of establishing centralized education bureaucracy in Washington, Bennett uses bully pulpit to press for improvement in moral and intellectual quality of school and university education.

March 13. **"Make My Day."** Reagan plays Dirty Harry at American Business Conference: "I've only one thing to say to the tax increasers—Go ahead, make my day."

March 17. **New Leftists Recant.** *Washington Post* publishes article by former *Ramparts* editors and New Left leaders Peter Collier and David Horowitz confessing that anti-war movement was wrong to oppose the struggle against Communism in Vietnam.

March 19-21. **Committee for the Free World.** Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Paul Johnson, Jean-Francois Revel, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Alun Chalfont, Leo Labedz, and other luminaries speak in London before Committee for the Free World in greatest assemblage of foreign policy brainpower since Winston Churchill dined alone.

Spring. **Challenge to Civil Rights Orthodoxy.** In "The Moral Quandary of the Black Community," published in the *Public Interest,* Harvard economist Glenn Loury challenges black leadership to move beyond crusade against lingering racism and address real problems facing large sections of black community: family breakdown, high crime rates, disdain for education.

May 20. **Radio Free Cuba.** U.S. begins 14½ hours of daily broadcasting on Radio Marti to "promote the cause of freedom in Cuba."

June 29. **B-1 Bomber.** First B-1 bomber comes off production line, four years after Reagan reverses Carter's decision to cancel system. Production means U.S. deterrent forces will have bomber capable of penetrating Soviet air defenses from mid-80s until mid-90s when Stealth bomber becomes operational.

July 9. **Meese's "Original Intent" Speech.** Attorney General Edwin Meese brings meaning of the Constitution to center stage of national debate. His call for a "Jurisprudence of Original Intent," in speech before American Bar Association, later draws admissions from Supreme Court Justices Brennan and Marshall that they disregard intent of Framers in their own constitutional interpretations.

July 10. **Repeal of Clark Amendment.** Clark Amendment barring U.S. aid to Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters in Angola is repealed over protests of State Department. Stage set for Savimbi's meeting with Reagan on January 30, 1986 and for administration decision on February 18, 1986 to supply UNITA with $15 million in aid, including Stingers.

August 1. **Defunding Forced Abortions.** Congress denies foreign aid funds to any group that supports or participates in management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization.

December 11. **Gramm-Rudman.** Ted Kennedy and 60 other Senators vote for Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill committing Congress to a balanced budget by Fiscal Year 1991, with ever-declining deficits each year along the way.

December 30. **Pullout from UNESCO.** U.S., followed by Britain and Singapore, withdraws from UNESCO, setting the United Nations on notice that American taxpayers will no longer foot bills for gross mismanagement or programs that undermine basic freedoms.

1986

January 25. **CBS Sees Light on Poverty.** Conservative wisdom on poverty becomes conventional wisdom as Bill Moyers' report on CBS, "The Vanishing Family: Crisis in Black America," blames breakdown of families for persistence of poverty in inner cities.

March 7. **Soviet Spies Ejected.** Over opposition of State Department, United States orders Soviet Union to reduce number of "diplomats" at its United Nations mission from 275 to 170, and later identifies 25 Soviet spies who must be included in group to leave.

April 14. **Attack on Libya.** Terrorism banished from Mediterranean and Europe for four months, as U.S. attacks five Libyan targets near Tripoli and Benghazi in retaliation for Qaddafi's involvement in series of terrorist attacks. Almost 70 percent of Americans approve of action.

May 27. **Reagan Renounces SALT.** In view of seven major violations by the Soviet Union, Reagan announces U.S. will no longer abide by nuclear weapons limits of SALT I and the never-ratified SALT II. Instead decisions about U.S. deterrent forces will be based on assessment of Soviet nuclear threat.

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June 3. **Popular Support for Tort Reform.** Californians vote in Proposition 51 to abolish joint and several liability for noneconomic damages, ensuring that defendants with "deep pockets" are liable for damages only in proportion to their actual responsibility for the harm. Referendum shows popular dissatisfaction with outrageous awards for civil suits and gives boost to tort reform movement sweeping state legislatures.

June 12. **Reagan Judiciary.** Confirmation of Stephen Williams as Judge on U.S. appeals court for D.C. Circuit, added to earlier confirmations of Robert Bork, Kenneth Starr, Laurence Silberman, James Buckley, and Antonin Scalia (later replaced by Douglas Ginsburg), gives conservatives a majority on nation's second most important court, formerly the bastion of liberal judicial activism.

June 25. **Aid to Contras.** House repeals Boland Amendment as it belatedly votes 221 to 209 to provide $100 million in aid to Nicaragua's contras, the only policy, short of direct U.S. intervention, that can keep Central American Communists on defensive and thus buy time for fragile democracies of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala, as well as troubled economy of Mexico: the only policy, therefore, that can keep American boys out of a Central American war.

June 30. **No Right to Sodomy.** Supreme Court in *Bowers v. Hardwick* finds no constitutional right to sodomy in due process clause of 14th Amendment or in penumbras and emanations of any other amendment. The same logic, if extended to abortion, would invalidate reasoning of *Roe v. Wade* (1973).

August 5. **Lucas Nomination.** Wayne County Executive William Lucas, a black conservative, wins Republican nomination for gubernatorial race in Michigan.

August 6. **Veto of Jenkins Bill.** World trade war averted, at least temporarily, as Congress fails to override Reagan's veto of Jenkins Bill, which would have further limited textile imports.

August 25. **Feminists Rediscover Family.** Betty Friedan, in *The Second Stage,* calls on feminist movement to move away from hostility to motherhood and family.

September 17. **Rehnquist/Scalia Confirmation.** Senate confirms William Rehnquist as Chief Justice and Antonin Scalia as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, bringing a concentration of intellectual rigor back to nation's highest court for first time in a generation, and leaving a conservative legacy that will long outlive Reagan Administration.

September 20. **Democrats Change Foreign Policy?** Democratic Policy Commission, an official arm of Democratic Party, issues foreign policy statement calling Soviet Union "the greatest threat to world peace and freedom" and supporting military aid for "democratic elements" struggling against Soviets.

October 17. **Nobel for Buchanan.** James Buchanan, the seminal developer of Public Choice theory along with Gordon Tullock, wins Nobel Prize for Economics.

October 22. **Reagan's Second Tax Victory.** Reagan achieves his number one domestic priority for second term as he signs tax reform bill lowering top marginal income tax rates to 28 percent by 1988. Victory represents remarkable coalition between conservatives who wanted lower rates and liberals who wanted fewer "loopholes." Result is that work and investment decisions will henceforth be based more on real economic calculations than on tax advantages.

November 4. **Rose Bird Ousted.** Californians vote two to one to remove Chief Justice Rose Bird and two other state Supreme Court justices because of their cavalier disregard for the Constitution in death penalty cases and their overt partisanship in reapportionment cases.

1987

January 8. **Dow Breaks 2,000.** Wall Street gives its verdict on Reaganomics as Dow Jones stock market index breaks 2,000 one week after '86 tax cuts go into effect. By mid-1987, Dow Jones Index is three times its level of 1980, though still lower in inflation-adjusted terms than in 1973.

March 18. Speed Limit Raised. House votes to raise speed limit on rural interstate highways from 55 to 65 miles per hour.

March 26. **Sale of Conrail.** Seventeen years after the bankruptcy of Penn Central, and seven years after railroad deregulation permits return of profitability in railroad industry, U.S. government sells its 85 percent share in Conrail for $1.65 billion, one of the largest public stock offerings in Wall Street history.

April 2. **Bloom Opens Minds.** Publication of Allan Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind,* which echoes Bill Bennett's critique of the moral and intellectual emptiness of American education, and becomes best-selling book of mid-1987.

May 8. **New Welfare Consensus.** American Enterprise Institute working seminar of liberals and conservatives issues consensus statement on welfare policy: The way to move out of poverty is to finish high school, get married and stay married, and take (and keep) a job.

June 9. **Takings Clause Applied to Land-Use Regulation.** Supreme Court, in *First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Glendale v. County of Los Angeles,* rules that property owners are entitled to compensation for government regulations that deprive them of reasonable use of their land.

June 12. **"Tear Down the Wall."** Reagan calls on General Secretary Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall if he's really serious about "glasnost."

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. . . And Twenty-Five Abroad

November 20, 1977. **Sadat in Jerusalem.** Egyptian president Anwar Sadat addresses Knesset, Israel's parliament, setting stage for peace between two countries and return of Sinai to Egypt.

December 1978. **China Liberates Peasants.** Chinese Communist Party begins series of free-market agricultural reforms leading to most remarkable explosion of farm output in history of world.

May 3, 1979. **Election of Thatcher.** Margaret Thatcher wins British prime ministership, promising to dismantle socialism and extend freedom of choice. "The only thing I'm going to do for you is make you freer to do things for yourselves. If you can't do it then, I'm sorry, I'll have nothing to offer you."

August 8, 1980. **Britain Spreads Property Ownership.** Passage of Housing Act requires British public housing authorities to offer tenants opportunity to buy flats and houses at discount. Home ownership as proportion of population rises from 52 percent to 67 percent.

August 30, 1980. **Solidarity in Poland.** As 10 million Poles, one third of nation, express support for Solidarity, the Communist Party grants Polish workers short-lived right to strike.

October 8, 1982. **Capitalism in Sri Lanka.** Reelection of Prime Minister J.R. Jayewardene shows Third World support for free market not limited to Confucian cultures with authoritarian governments.

October 1982. **Partial Destruction of PLO.** Weakening of PLO leads to marginal improvements in prospects for peace between Israel and neighbors.

November 26, 1982. **Election of Nakasone.** Selection of Yasuhiro Nakasone as prime minister brings to power postwar Japan's most ardent advocate of a strong pro-Western defense, fiscal restraint, and free trade.

December 1983. **NATO Survives Peacenik Offensive.** Reagan's insistence on sticking by NATO commitments bears fruit as alliance survives arrival of first U.S. cruise missiles at England's Greenham Common air base, and first battery of Pershing 2s in West Germany. European leaders who stood with Reagan are supported by voters—Helmut Kohl elected on March 6, 1983 and Margaret Thatcher overwhelmingly reelected on June 9, 1983.

May 6, 1984. **Elections in El Salvador.** Salvadorans brave Communist death threats to vote in first free presidential elections in 50 years.

September 3, 1984. **Vatican Condemns Marx.** Pope John Paul II condemns Marxist elements of liberation theology.

December 7, 1984. **China Condemns Marx.** *People's Daily* runs front-page editorial stating that some of Marx's ideas "no longer suited" to China's present problems.

December 22, 1984. **Support for SDI.** Britain, later followed by West Germany, Japan, and Israel, announces it will cooperate with U.S. in strategic defense research.

March 25, 1985. **Tax Cuts in India.** Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reveals economic potential of world's largest democracy, as tax cuts ignite Bombay stock market boom.

May 14, 1985. **Debt-Equity Conversion.** By allowing foreigners ownership of assets in exchange for debt reduction, Chile provides market solution for Third World debt crisis.

May 1985. **Nyerere Recants.** Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere admits that nationalization of sisal plantations destroyed country's economy.

June 2, 1985. **Jamba Accord.** Freedom fighters from Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Laos, and Angola meet in Jamba, capital of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces, to pledge common cause against Soviet colonialism, "the common enemy of mankind."

January-July 1986. **Collapse of OPEC.** Free fall in oil prices from $26 to $12 a barrel symbolizes collapse of OPEC cartel that actually had begun earlier.

January 14, 1986. **Latin America's Democratic Renaissance.** With inauguration of Vinicio Cerezo, Guatemala becomes 11th Latin American country to move from mili-

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tary or authoritarian rule to democratic government since 1978, the 8th since Reagan's election. Reagan's support for contras and El Salvador makes region safe for democracy.

February 25, 1986. **Reagan and Aquino.** Reagan's encouragement of peaceful transfer of power from Ferdinand Marcos to democratically elected, non-Communist government in Philippines contrasts dramatically with Carter's failure to insist on legitimate succession procedure in Shah's Iran and Somoza's Nicaragua.

March 16, 1986. **France Rejects Socialism.** Election of French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac leads to denationalization, lower taxes, and greater freedom for entrepreneurs.

July 10, 1986. **South African Bill of Rights.** Leaders of Natal province and KwaZulu homeland endorse sweeping bill of rights abolishing apartheid and guaranteeing rights of property and free expression, to accompany constitution for multiracial government in region.

1986. **Italy Smashes Terrorism.** Terrorist crimes committed by Red Brigades fall to 27 in first nine months of 1986, down from annual average of 350-400 in 1980-82.

March 25, 1987. **Humiliation of Qaddafi.** With help of France, Chadian troops capture stronghold of Faya-Largeau and expel Libyan occupation troops from most of their country.

June 11, 1987. **Thatcher's Second Reelection.** Third landslide for Margaret Thatcher keeps Britain in NATO alliance and proves once again that conservatives who stick to principles win popular support.

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Ten Years of Policy Review

Excerpts from Past Issues

Williams on Minimum Wage

The racial effect of the minimum wage law would exist in the *absence* of racial preferences on the behalf of employers. The minimum wage law gives firms effective economic incentive to seek to hire only the most productive employees which means that firms are less willing to hire and/or train the least productive employees which includes teenagers and particularly minority teenagers. But holding all else constant, such as worker productivity, the minimum wage law gives firms incentive to indulge whatever racial preferences that they may hold. The reason is that the minimum wage law prevents the worker or jobseeker from offering a compensating difference.

Walter E. Williams, "Government Sanctioned Restraints That Reduce Economic Opportunities for Minorities" (Fall 1977)

Lefever on Human Rights

The human rights activists tend to underestimate the totalitarian threat to the West and the totalitarian temptation in the Third World. Hence, they neglect or trivialize the fundamental political and moral struggle of our time—the protracted conflict between forces of total government based on coercion and the proponents of limited government based on popular consent and humane law. In their preoccupation with the minor abridgment of certain rights in authoritarian states, they often overlook the massive threat to the liberty of millions. They attack the limitation of civil rights in South Korea and at the same time call for the United States to withdraw its ground forces, an act that may invite aggression from North Korea. It would be a great irony if Washington in the name of human rights were to adopt a policy that would deliver 35,000,000 largely free South Koreans into virtual slavery.

Ernest W. Lefever, "The Trivialization of Human Rights" (Winter 1978)

State Department Clientitis

"Clientitis" is widely recognized as one of the State Department's most unfortunate characteristics. Simply defined, it refers to a tendency to look upon the country or countries within an officer's geographic responsibilities as "clients" deserving special attention. (The term "client" is widely used inside the Department.) Sometimes clientitis takes the form of seeking preferred treatment for a client-country; at other times it means seeking special attention for an action contemplated regarding a client country, be it protective or punitive. Desk officers and country directors are the most seriously afflicted, but even assistant secretaries are not immune.

John Krizay, "Clientitis, Corpulence and Cloning at State: The Symptomatology of a Sick Department" (Spring 1978)

Friedman on Taxes

There is an important point that needs to be stressed to those who regard themselves as fiscal conservatives. By concentrating on the wrong thing, the deficit, instead of the right thing, total government spending, fiscal conservatives have been the unwitting handmaidens of the big spenders. The typical historical process is that the spenders put through laws which increase government spending and say, "My God, that's terrible; we have got to do something about that deficit." So they cooperate with the big spenders in getting taxes imposed. As soon as the new taxes are imposed and passed, the big spenders are off again, and then there is another burst in government spending and another deficit.

Milton Friedman, "The Limitations of Tax Limitation" (Summer 1978)

Kampelman on the Press

The press (both print and electronic) is very jealous of what it asserts as the right to protect its sources of information. At a press conference in Washington, Dan Rather asserted that the right was not for the benefit of reporters. It is for the benefit of the listeners and viewers and readers . . . The cause is America. This is related to a newly-articulated "public's right to know." But what about the public's right to know the sources of news stories? Are the media insisting on a degree of confidentiality which they deny to the government? Does it not seem incongruous for a private, profit-making enterprise, such as the media, to have a greater right of confidentiality than a democratically-elected government?

Max M. Kampelman, "The Power of the Press: A Problem for Our Democracy" (Fall 1978)

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Moynihan on Rhetoric

For some years, I have been arguing that the West's political culture is endangered by the fact that the vocabulary and the symbols of political progress are being expropriated by the opponents of our values. Democracy, as we understand it, is under assault from totalitarians masquerading as democrats—just as democratic socialism is under assault from totalitarians masquerading as socialists in Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, we persist in dignifying these enemies of freedom with the terminology of freedom—so that we persistently misdescribe the political forces arrayed against us.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Words and Foreign Policy" (Fall 1978)

Schlafly on ERA

Just as the identical reinforcement clauses of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments have transferred from the states to the federal government the enforcement and preemption power over the subject-matter of Section 1 of those amendments, Section 2 of the federal E.R.A. would likewise transfer from the states to the federal government the enforcement and preemption power over the subject-matter of Section 1 of E.R.A., namely, all state laws that have traditionally made distinctions based on sex. This would include laws governing marriage, divorce, child custody, family property, inheritance, widow's privileges, homosexual activity, abortion, prison regulations, insurance rates, and private schools.

Phyllis Schlafly, "The Effect of Equal Rights Amendment in State Constitutions" (Summer 1979)

Gray on SALT

Noticeably absent from the SALT II debate is any substantial discussion of strategy. Harold Brown, as pointman for the Administration, has impressive credentials as a defense scientist, but he has little credibility as a strategist. A major problem with SALT is that it focuses attention upon strategically irrelevant issues. For example: why should it matter whether or not the agreement is closely balanced in its terms? The United States requires a strategic force posture that could take the strategic initiative, dominate the process of escalation, and limit damage to the American homeland. These are serious questions. Much less serious questions would pertain to the true "balance" achieved in a SALT II regime, the verifiability of that regime, and the prospects for follow-on negotiations. Lurking behind the details of the SALT II debate are fundamental issues of strategic adequacy.

Colin S. Gray, "SALT II: The Real Debate" (Fall 1979)

Gilder on Welfare

In the welfare culture, money becomes not something earned by men through hard work, but a right conferred on women by the state. Protest and complaint replace diligence and discipline as the sources of pay. Boys grow up seeking support from women, while they find manhood in the macho circles of the street and the bar, or in the irresponsible fathering of random progeny.

George Gilder, "The Coming Welfare Crisis" (Winter 1980)

Kahn on Globaloney

At the outset, Global 2000 asserts that "Despite great material output, the world's people will be poorer *in many ways* than they are today." [Emphasis ours] The reader is expected to understand that, although almost every country will technically have a higher real GNP per capita, something else, presumably quality, will suffer as time goes by—and that this is more important than mere quantity. We agree that quality is always important; indeed, a sufficient decline in quality can negate any increase in quantity. But many complaints about the quality of life today turn out to have more to do with the perceptions and misperceptions of the middle class in Western culture than with the welfare of most people in these societies. Thus as mass consumption societies develop and expand, the way of life of the upper middle class often declines in certain respects (for example, the disappearance of servants, crowded resorts, and less easy access to prestigious universities.) Global 2000 seems to be projecting this problem on other countries as well as on other classes within this country.

Herman Kahn and Ernest Schneider, "Globaloney 2000" (Spring 1981)

Sowell on Poverty

The question is to find the right and proper definition of poverty. The more fundamental point is this: whatever meaning we give to poverty, that meaning is frozen into statistics; it is also frozen into our laws governing the benefits due the poor. Once we have committed ourselves to a legal definition, this is what poverty means, regardless of how ludicrous the results may be. We should distinguish the poor, as we conceive of them, from the poor as they appear in our statistics and in our laws. With a sufficiently narrow definition of income, the statistical "poor" might include, for example, a Kennedy or a Rockefeller who happened not to be working this year. (One of the advantages of having wealth is that you do not have to work, or work as hard, or seek out jobs that pay you the highest income.) Students who graduate by the millions each June only earn half as much that year as they would normally earn. Therefore, their income may fall into the poverty level, even though they are not poor in any meaningful sense.

Thomas Sowell, "Thoughts and Details on Poverty" (Summer 1981)

Diary of a Bureaucrat

The second phenomenon I observed was that our office's staff spent most of its time figuring out how little work could be done in an eight-hour day. Official duty went from nine to five-thirty. Everyone would straggle in at least 15 minutes late in the morning, however, and immediately head to the cafeteria for coffee. These coffee breaks would last as long as forty-five minutes. The rest of the morning would be spent on the telephone—to friends, spouses, doctors, real estate agents, and plumbers. Lunch would never last less than two hours, at which time the entire office would leave together, abandoning the telephone switchboard and its incoming jam of telephone calls.

Mindy Farber, "Diary of a Bureaucrat" (Fall 1982)

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Muravchik on Misreporting

The imbalance in the *[Washington] Post's* handling of war statistics was reflective of the larger problem that affected its coverage of the events in Lebanon: the *Post* seemed to exhibit an underlying sympathy—although not uncritical—for the PLO and an underlying antipathy toward Israel or at least toward the Israel of Menachem Begin. This slant seemed to grow out of nothing more sinister than the *Post's* analysis. In an editorial at the end of the siege of West Beirut, the *Post* called the issue of the fate of the Palestinians "the root cause of the Arab-Israeli dispute." This view, which was echoed often in the *Post,* accords with an Arab view of the Middle East conflict. In the Israeli view, by contrast, the root cause of the conflict is the Arab refusal to accept the existence of Israel. The fate of the Palestinians has always been solvable, in the Israeli view, within the context of Arab-Israeli peace. Given the view that the fate of the Palestinians rather than the existence of Israel lies at the heart of the conflict, it is natural to look upon the PLO, the preeminent voice of Palestinian nationalism, with at least a degree of sympathy and to look upon Mr. Begin, that Israeli prime minister least yielding to the claims of Palestian nationalism, unsympathetically.

Joshua Muravchik, "Misreporting Lebanon" (Winter 1983)

Bilingual Education

Historically, one of the most important ways for immigrant children to achieve economic, social, and political access to the American dream has been through education. Besides offering these students the opportunity to carry their studies to a level not possible in most countries, American public schools have given them what may be the most important opportunity of all—the chance to learn the language of the country. Now this critical avenue to success is being narrowed. The modern immigrant has been betrayed by a confederation of power-seeking politicians, unprincipled educators, and unwitting Americans.

Robert E. Rossier, "Bilingual Education: Training for the Ghetto" (Summer 1983)

Van den Haag on Thugs

If all criminals were recidivists, total rehabilitation would reduce the crime rate to zero. But recidivists start as first offenders. Indeed, some of the worst crimes are often committed by first offenders. Most murders are. Since it could affect criminals only after their first conviction, even total rehabilitation could not significantly reduce the homicide rate.

Ernest van den Haag, "How Not to Cut Crime" (Fall 1983)

Minogue on Hinckley

John Hinckley's father appears to have behaved responsibly, as a father ought to have done, yet in the witness box he remarked: "I am the cause of my son's tragedy." Hinckley junior, by contrast, wrote in the aftermath of his acquittal: "My fragile conscience is clear of useless guilt." No doubt both of these remarks should be seen in context—the father speaking in the stress of the trial itself, the son apparently pleased with, and therefore helping to justify, the jury's verdict by calling his conscience "fragile." These things considered, however, there is a remarkable contrast between an innocent man who seems to have done his best to perform his duties and yet finds himself responsible, while another who undoubtedly committed a criminal act happily washes his hands of what he calls "useless guilt." We have argued that the idea of madness is dangerously volatile. That of guilt is no less so. And the conceptual chaos in this area is closely linked.

Kenneth Minogue, "Madness and Guilt" (Summer 1983)

How to Win in El Salvador

The Salvadoran armed forces are only now just being prepared to deal effectively with the guerrilla tactics of counterinsurgency. They find themselves in a position similar to the one we occupied in the mid-sixties in Vietnam, where we were unable to force a Clauswitzian main battle against an enemy who, when confronted, would either melt into the jungle or retreat across a border. We must now help the Salvadorans learn from our mistakes so that they do not repeat them.

Alvin H. Bernstein and Colonel John D. Waghelstein, "How to Win in El Salvador" (Winter 1984)

Reagan Too Successful

Reagan may have been too successful too fast. He was elected before there were enough people ideologically committed to his program who also had the necessary technical skills to run the government.

Richard Rahn, "Symposium: What Conservatives Think of Ronald Reagan" (Winter 1984)

The Reagan Expansion

The record-breaking increase in employment did not occur in a vacuum. In a sharp repudiation of the Phillips curve—the theory that there exists an inverse relationship between employment and inflation—4 million Americans went to work in a year that saw inflation drop to 3.2 percent, the lowest annual increase in the consumer price index since 1967. The slowdown in inflation in 1983 continued the trend under the Reagan Administration after back-to-back years of double-digit inflation: 13.5 percent in 1979 and 12.5 percent in 1980. And 1983's increase in the producer price index, the lowest since 1964, bodes well for continued progress against inflation in 1984 and beyond.

Grover Norquist, "Four Million New Jobs" (Spring 1984)

In Defense of Hiroshima

Yankee troops were scheduled to land in Kyushu in November 1945, and on the central island of Honshu the following March. There can be no doubt that the battles would have been more destructive than the devastation at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. General Marshall predicted a quarter of a million to a million American casualties, with as many or more Japanese deaths. And the experience of other great battles in 1945 made it clear that civilians would bear the brunt of the violence. A hundred thousand

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Filipino civilians perished along with 16,000 Japanese occupation troops in the defense of Manila, and the city itself suffered greater destruction than any Allied metropolis except Warsaw. The last-ditch defense of Okinawa took the lives of between 40,000 and 70,000 Okinawan civilians, many committing hara-kiri rather than be conquered by the foreign devils.

Adam Meyerson,"Atoms for Peace: Truman Was Right to Drop the Bomb" (Summer 1985)

Du Pont on Protectionism

Another cost of protectionism is the damage it does to the vitality and innovation of our domestic economy. Protecting jobs and profits in one industry locks labor and capital into less efficient uses, stifling new jobs in other industries, and reducing incentives for companies to modernize and respond to changing technology and consumer demands.

Pete du Pont, "The Kamikaze Economics of Protectionism" (Fall 1985)

D'Souza on the Bishops

Interviews with these bishops suggest that they know little or nothing about the ideas and proposals to which they are putting their signature and lending their religious authority. The bishops are unfamiliar with existing defense and economic programs, unable to identify even in general terms the Soviet military capability, ignorant of roughly how much of the budget currently goes to defense, unclear about how much should be reallocated to social programs, and innocent of the most basic concepts underlying the intelligent layman's discussion of these questions.

Dinesh D'Souza, "The Bishops as Pawns" (Fall 1985)

Savimbi: Angola Is Munich of Africa

We ask also for your political and diplomatic support. We need you to insist at the United Nations and other international forums that the Cubans and Soviets leave Angola and that the promised elections be held. With your military and political support, other nations will follow your lead and give us aid. Do not underestimate the importance of your decision. For Angola is the Munich of Africa. Hesitation, the refusal to aid UNITA in its fight against the Cubans and Soviets, will be taken as a signal by all the countries in the region that the United States has abandoned them to the Soviets as the West abandoned Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe to Hitler in 1938. Do not suppose that Zaire, Zambia, Botswana, and Namibia will remain of the West when faced with an unopposed base in Angola. They will be forced to make their political accommodations with the Soviets just as most of Eastern Europe fell under Nazi political domination without a shot being fired. The loss of the sea route around the Cape and the loss of the strategic minerals found in central and southern Africa would be a crippling blow to the economy and defense of the West. That is why I say that UNITA is the key to Angola, Angola is the key to Africa, and Africa is the key to the West.

Jonas Savimbi, "The War Against Soviet Colonialism" (Winter 1986)

D'Souza on Feminism

An increasing number of thoughtful feminists, though, are beginning to take on these issues. After helping to remedy social evils that existed, they are now turning their attention to social ills that they helped to cause. They are coming to terms with the negative fallout of the women's movement, debating these in candid and undogmatic terms, and sometimes arriving at solutions which fall outside the parameters of feminist orthodoxy or perhaps even repudiate the earlier tenets of feminism.

Dinesh D'Souza, "The New Feminist Revolt" (Winter 1986)

Courter on Terrorism

Meanwhile, we have been overlooking the remarkable number of counterterrorism success stories in the past two decades. Time and time again, hostages have been rescued unharmed by the swift and skillful use of force. Time and time again, decisive action has destroyed terrorists' headquarters or camps and thus impaired their military capabilities or deterred them from using terrorist tactics. The option of the use of force, while not always necessary, must always be available. Contingency planning for a rescue mission or military retaliation or both should begin from the very hour in which Americans are taken hostage or killed abroad. There is no need for us to be paralyzed: history gives ample evidence that international terrorism can be impeded by countermeasures that are skillful and swift.

Representative Jim Courter, "Protecting Our Citizenship" (Spring 1986)

Welfare Reform

An efficient yet sensitive welfare system will never be achieved until a mechanism can be found to break the lockhold of professional service providers, who have a direct interest in maximizing expenditure rather than solving problems. In a conservative welfare system, this would be achieved by taking the rallying cry of the 1960s—"empowerment"—and giving it real meaning. The Great Society saw empowerment as a political instrument to obtain welfare rights. In practice, the strategy gave power to service organizations and spokesmen for the poor, not the poor themselves. But in a conservative system, the balance of power could be shifted to the poor themselves by creative uses of privatization.

Stuart Butler, "Power to the People" (Spring 1987)

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DEPARTMENT OF DISINFORMATION

TEN YEARS OF SOUND AND FURY

JOHN SEILER

Collectors of ridiculous statements by politicians and journalists have uncovered a bounteous supply of idiocy over the past 10 years, only slightly less abundant than during the previous decade. The elections of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and Ronald Reagan in 1980 pushed many of the English language's most talented buncombe artists out of government and into the media and universities, where they have come up with new brands of snake oil.

What follows is a sampling of the most preposterous statements in the past decade. Many of them are culled from the "Current Wisdom" section of the *American Spectator,* a monthly goldmine for pishposh, as well as *Facts on File* and the regular "Department of Disinformation" feature in *Policy Review.*

Mad Ron

In the nuclear era, however, based on the record from which we must make educated guesses before we can vote, he is the most dangerous person ever to come this close to the Presidency, and if elected he would be the most dangerous leader so far in history. . . . At Reagan's age, with his ideas and his advisers, in this era, he is a menace to the human race.

The Nation, November 1, 1980

Everyone in America knows that any tactic, any action, any crime is permissible in the fight against Godless communism. That, in part, may be the explanation for President Reagan's sudden candor regarding American intentions in Nicaragua. Just as the German people must bear the responsibility for Hitler, so must Americans be accountable for Reagan.

Village Voice, March 13, 1985

Psychological escape, self-destructive rebellion and antisocial activity are built into the system of competition, greed and authoritarianism that the Reagan revolution promotes. Drug abuse is not a very healthy antidote to the debilitating system, but it is an immediately available one, and you cannot remove the one without changing the other.

The Nation, August 30, 1986

You have to go back to the Nazis to find expressions of thuggish intent so laced with ignorance and mendacity as those made by Reagan and George Shultz in recent days. And the press is utterly complicit and utterly cowed.

Alexander Cockburn, *The Nation,* March 9, 1985

Jimmy's World

When the two men [Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev] eventually sit down together, they will get along well. Both of them are strong men and have similar dreams and aspirations about the most fundamental issues.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, reported in *Time,* April 24, 1978

I think to close out this discussion [on arms control] it would be better to put into perspective what we're talking about. I had a discussion with my daughter Amy the other day before I came here to ask her what the most important issue was. She said she thought nuclear weaponry and the control of nuclear arms.

President Jimmy Carter, debate with Governor Ronald Reagan, October 28, 1980

Former President Jimmy Carter said . . . today that President Reagan's support of the government of El Salvador was underwriting a regime that was "the most bloodthirsty in our hemisphere, perhaps in the world."

Washington Post, July 20, 1983

Being confident of our own future, we are now free of that inordinate fear of Communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in our fear.

For too many years we have been willing to adopt the flawed principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our values for theirs.

We fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better fought with water.

This approach failed, with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty.

But through failure we have found our way back to our

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own principles and values, and we have regained our lost confidence.

President Jimmy Carter, commencement address at Notre Dame University, May 22, 1977

Great Depression II

I am waiting for a rising sound of protest from the halls of Congress, but I have not yet heard declared what we all know to be true—that the so-called economic policy issuing from its government, for all its supply-side jargon and budgetary pieties, is a simple, undeniable eviction procedure, a brutal eviction not only of widows and children but all citizens except the already privileged, all interests except those of wealth and business.

As a writer of fiction I could not get away with a portrayal of such unmitigated and sanctimonious cruelty; no landlord this infamous would be believed in a fiction of mine. Yet here he is, in one of his guises, pointing to charts and budget ledgers telling us who lives and who dies, and here he is in another, testifying about all the bombs and missiles we'll be able to make from the money we take away from the poor.

E. L. Doctorow, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* October 1, 1981

He came in preaching an economic philosophy that has become known as "Reaganomics." It was the result of many years spent as a mediocre show-biz figure listening to rich, crotchety Republicans yearning for a return to the good old days.

And in only a year-and-a-half, Reaganomics has brought us closer to the good old days of Herbert Hoover than any sane person would want to be. . . .

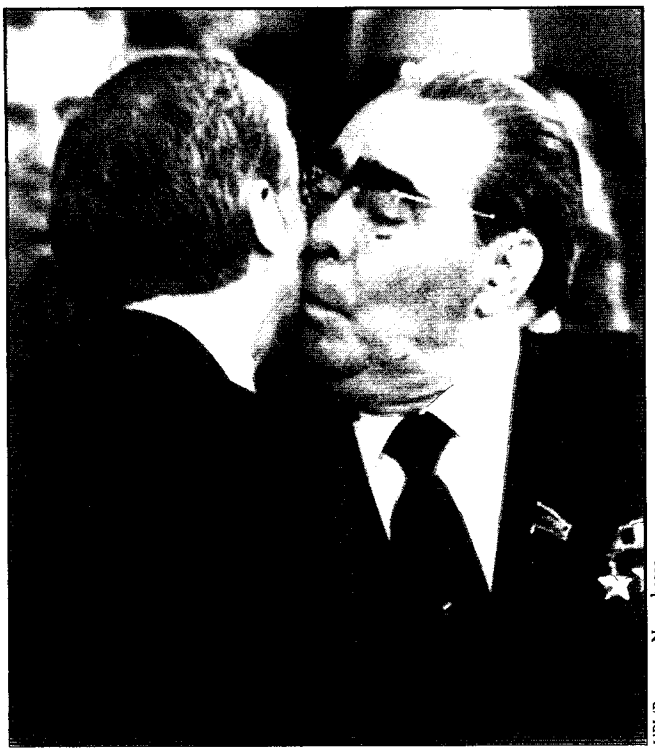
. . . No matter how you look at it, Reagan has managed to goof things up in record time.

The economy is crashing; the rest of the world is going crazy and we can't do anything about it, and it is going to get worse before (or if) it gets better.

Mike Royko, *Sun-Times* (Chicago), July 22, 1982

But it's [Milton] Friedman's ideas, rachitic with error, that have carried the day and that continue to hold sway. Why? The answer is that more than any other prominent economist Mr. Friedman speaks unequivocally on behalf of the capitalist class and for that class's political agents in the form of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and Augusto Pinochet. To the capitalist soul Mr. Friedman's theme has always been endearing—that not only the capitalist's self-interest will be well served by the capitalist's freedom to exploit and by the necessity of the exploited classes to submit to their fate as the only route to eventual prosperity for all.

The trouble for these capitalists is that the ideology of monetarism, so fortifying at the spiritual level, is a poor tool with which to confront the grim realities of today's international scene, where the Western economies are approaching their third decade of currency instability, trade imbalance, slow growth and high mass unemployment. In the end, as in the 1930s, crisis will be the most persuasive instructor on the nature of the bogus and the real.



UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Carter and Brezhnev
"Similar dreams and aspirations"

Alexander Cockburn, *Wall Street Journal,* October 2, 1986

The Feminist Mystique

There is then no female Leonardo, no female Titian, no female Poussin, but the reason does not lie in the fact that women have wombs, that they can have babies, that their brains are smaller, that they lack vigor, that they are not sensual. The reason is simply that you cannot make great artists out of egos that have been damaged, with wills that are defective, with libidos that have been driven out of reach and energy diverted into neurotic channels.

Germaine Greer, *The Obstacle Race,* Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979

We won't step back from any issue and we recognize bigotry for what it is wherever it's raised its ugly head. And we intend to wrap it around the neck of the right wing as we fight for liberty and justice for all. . . . I feel that one of the biggest problems we have is we don't take the right-wing fascist opposition seriously enough.

Eleanor Smeal, President of the National Organization for Women, speaking before the National Press Club, September 6, 1985

Down on the Liberal Plantation

I don't know when I've been as disgusted as I was recently watching Thomas Sowell on a TV interview dishing out bull under the label of scholarship.

Okay, Sowell has a right to be a conservative and to

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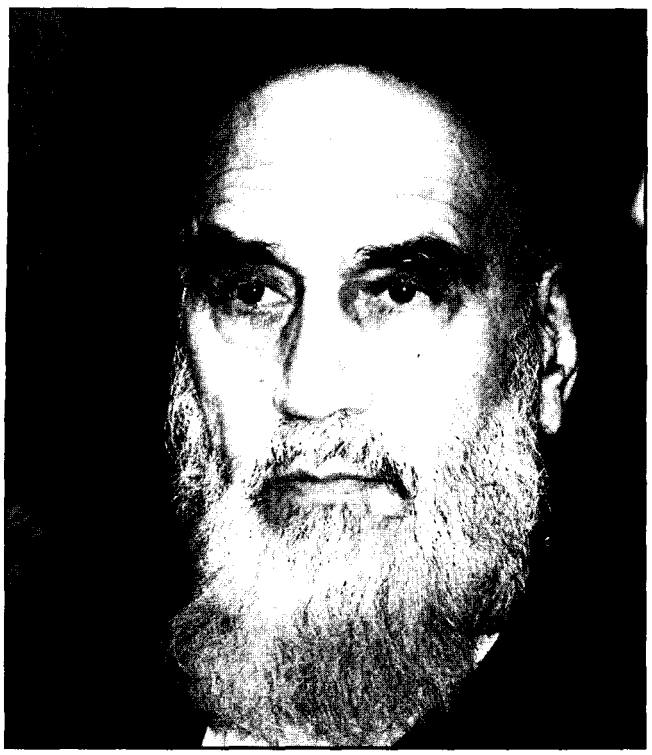

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"Somewhat of a saint"

articulate far-right views. But I must exercise my right to say that Vidkun Quisling, in his collaboration with the Nazis, surely did not do as much damage to the Norwegians as Sowell is doing to the most helpless of black Americans. Sowell is giving aid and comfort to America's racists and to those who, in the name of conservatism and frugality, are taking food out of the mouths of black children, consigning hundreds of thousands of black teenagers to joblessness and hopelessness.

Carl T. Rowan, *Washington Post,* September 29, 1981

Alcee Hastings, Florida's first black federal judge, has accused President Reagan of being "a racist."

". . . It's just a matter of time before you realize deceit for what it is—deceit. Reagan was a racist on the eve that he came here and he was a racist on the eve that he left."

Hastings said Reagan is "a racist in more senses than we can imagine. Racism connotates power. Most people don't begin to understand or do not ponder what the meaning of power really is."

Hastings, appointed to the bench in 1979 by President Jimmy Carter, became the first sitting federal judge to be tried on criminal charges.

San Francisco Chronicle, June 10, 1983

Khomeini's Cheerleaders

Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, predicted February 7 that "Khomeini will be somewhat of a saint when we get over the panic."

Facts on File, February 16, 1979

At the center, there has been a struggle mounted around the issue of the status of women. To Western liberals it has confirmed their worst fears about the fanatical character of the Khomeini movement. Yet the evidence is mixed. Demonstrations have been organized by women, their consciousness raised, their voices heard.

The Nation, March 24, 1979

The national crisis just ended should have, at the very least, compelled us as a nation to face up to and learn from the hatred foreign peoples feel for our far-flung economic empire. That it has not is a real national tragedy.

The Nation, February 7, 1981

The Martyred Muammar

In the face of the negligible threat posed to U.S. interests—and to the world—by Muammar Qaddafi we now witness the U.S. tossing aside elementary dictates of law, evidence, morality, compassion, common sense, logic, self-interest and proportion; all discarded in a gust of national self-congratulation.

Alexander Cockburn, *Wall Street Journal,* April 17, 1986, three days after American planes bombed Libya

For most Americans, comparing Reagan to Qaddafi is a form of blasphemy. And yet for all of Reagan's macho charm, the parallels are unavoidable. And spooky.

For example, it seems certain that Qaddafi has founded terrorism beyond his own borders, perhaps planned it, possibly ordered specific acts, all in the name of a fuzzy-headed political ideology. But so has Reagan. Qaddafi thinks he is right in most matters, expressing in his words and deeds the true feelings of the people he rules; so does Reagan. Qaddafi reduces most political thinking to dumb slogans; Reagan grins and says, "I'm a *contra* too." . . . It's possible, of course, that . . . he recognizes in Qaddafi some funhouse mirror image of himself—the dark double of Dostoyevski and Kafka and Carlos Fuentes—and hates him for it. For example, Qaddafi is often described, with accuracy, as a religious fanatic, but some people think the same of Reagan—and for good reasons. The American President regularly presents his most batty ideas (the Evil Empire, etc.) to groups of American fundamentalist mullahs.

Pete Hamill, *Village Voice,* April 29, 1986

Fidelismo

The eight-and-a-half-hour encounter left [Senator Lowell Weicker] with the impression of "a man of enormous intellect and idealism. Castro's been known to snow people, but he didn't snow me," Weicker says. "We flew all over the place and I saw what he's done with my own eyes. They deliver a quality of life to those people they've never known before. By Caribbean and South American standards, it's Park Avenue. I want to know why the U.S. isn't there. We can gain the affection of the Cuban people by working side by side."

To that end, Weicker invited Castro to send scientists to work at the NOAA's research lab in St. Croix and is now urging the agency to exchange scientific publications with the Cubans. "Somebody who's going to play a role in the

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history of this hemisphere is somebody we should be talking to," he reasons. "Castro is there to stay."

People, November 10, 1980

Oil Slicks

What we face in the middle 1980s is a worldwide shortage of about 5 million barrels of oil a day.

James Schlesinger, Secretary of Energy, *U.S. News and World Report,* July 10, 1978

There is a dwindling supply of energy sources. The prices are going to rise in the future no matter who is President, no matter which party occupies the administration in Washington, no matter what we do.

President Jimmy Carter, March 31, 1979

For the free market purist, the poor do not count. Professor Milton Friedman, the acknowledged leader of the free market convocation, is not a thoughtfully hard-hearted man. The use of high prices to deny gasoline and heat to the low-income family is, for him as for his communicants, a technical matter devoid of moral content.

John Kenneth Galbraith, *New York Review of Books,* September 27, 1979

We must adopt a system of gasoline rationing without delay . . . in a way that demands a fair sacrifice from all Americans.

Senator Edward Kennedy, *New York Times,* January 28, 1980

To Russia with Love

I have yet to meet a single writer of my generation and temperament who *likes* the Soviet Union. About the most that can be said for it is that while the United States always supports the wrong side, at least the Soviet Union has helped the cause of progress, sometimes inadvertently, by aiding revolutions in the Third World . . .

A problem peculiar to our time is how to distance oneself from one side in the cold war without falling into the clutches of the other. For every Soviet apologist I have encountered, there are 10 on the opposite side who have lost their moral outrage at the United States in their eagerness to condemn Russia. As I grew more critical of the Soviet Union, I wondered if I too would moderate any hostility toward U.S. meddling in the Third World. I need not have worried. A supremely anti-Communist Administration like Ronald Reagan's is all one needs to remind oneself of the moral vacuousness of American foreign policy.

Alan Wolfe, *The Nation,* January 22, 1983

The keynote speaker, U.S. Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois, called on graduates to help build bridges of understanding to the rest of the world in order to help avert a nuclear catastrophe.

He urged graduates to travel and to take an interest in foreign visitors to the United States.

"This country spends more on construction of one-quarter mile of interstate highway than on all faculty and student exchange programs with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries," Simon told the crowd.

"That's clearly not a rational ordering of priorities" at a time when people "have the power to destroy the world," the Eugene native and former UO journalism student said.

"If 50 years ago we had had a foreign exchange program with Ronald Reagan at the University of Moscow and Yuri Andropov at the University of Oregon, we would be living in a vastly different world today," Simon said.

Old Oregon, July 1983

To the Shores of Grenada

The war in Grenada was waged much more effectively against the American people than against the worldwide Communist conspiracy the Reagan Administration claimed to be challenging.

Hodding Carter, *Wall Street Journal,* November 3, 1983

Simply put, the cost [of the Grenada invasion] is loss of the moral high ground: a reverberating demonstration to the world that America has no more respect for laws and borders, for the codes of civilization than the Soviet Union. . . . To much of the world, the invasion appears no different than the Soviet suppression of Poland or the occupation of Afghanistan. Even friends in this hemisphere and in Europe are tempted to think of the superpowers as equally selfish, possessed by their geopolitical games. In their private thoughts, they may even raise a cheer for the Davids who stand up to either Goliath.

New York Times editorial, October 30, 1983

The Revolution Without Borders

[Tomas] Borges [sic] has been considered one of the doctrinaire Marxists within the pluralistic Sandinista leadership. Yesterday, however, he pledged that the Sandinistas "do not propose a socialist scenario, but rather a democratic one," with early elections.

Karen DeYoung, *Washington Post,* May 30, 1979

A doctor in the group praised the young rebels. "They're not Communists," he said. "That's a fairy tale that Somoza invented and only the National Guard believes."

Alan Riding, *New York Times,* June 15, 1979

Nicaragua has sent out urgent appeals "everywhere" for combat aircraft to bolster its defenses against attacks by CIA-backed rebels, but "the United States has put ample pressure" on its Western allies to turn down the requests, according to Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega.

Leaving open the possibility of turning to the Soviet Union to build the Air Force considered necessary to counter rebel air attacks and potential conflict with neighboring Honduras, Ortega said in an interview that he saw "no reason why the brand name of the planes should worry the United States."

Karen DeYoung, *Washington Post,* September 28, 1983

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HEAVEN ON EARTH

Buckley, Bradford, Eastland, Oliver, Sobran, Schlafly, Weyrich, Tyrrell, and Bennett Describe Utopia

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Henry woke up and for a nostalgic moment he almost missed Ernestine's morning cigarette smoke. But, he mused, waiting for the *New York Times* to come up, it was over two years ago when at the Kennedy Center the very last cigarette was lit: the universal voluntary ban had had the single holdout, but ole Jesse finally said that, instead of continuing to import cigarettes from Uganda, he would swear off, and they made a big public ceremony of his last puff on earth.

The lead headline in the *New York Times* reported the edict of Prime Minister Nicholas Romanov. The Russian Counterrevolutionary Council had found him in Switzerland, a businessman of agile mind and manner, and invited him to preside over the liquidation of what was left of the Soviet Empire after the coup. Romanov's speech yesterday at the Kremlin was to the effect that he had no objection at all to the democratic coup's having been engineered by the CIA; indeed, he had told the Director, General North, that he, Romanov, would gladly commit Soviet resources to a U.S. coup in the event "you suffered your own October Revolution." Meanwhile, privatization was speeding along in Russia, after a week's ceremonies celebrating the independence of the Ukraine and the Baltic States. Projections were that economic growth within Russia would outstrip that of Japan by the end of Year One of Liberation.

The left-hand column of the morning paper was devoted to the presidential veto the day before of the congressional resolution demanding that the Earl Warren Memorial on Lafayette Square be renamed the William Howard Taft Memorial. This action by Congress was taken after the revelations of a Harvard researcher: during the entire period when he exercised his role as Chief Justice, Warren had been suffering from a disease that made all victims intellectually irresponsible. In fact, in his dying moments, enjoying a brief remission, it transpired that Warren had confided to a clerk—the researcher had got hold of a cassette, and the Chief Justice's quavering voice was readily apprehensible—that beginning in 1953, every time he had voted Yes, he had intended to vote No, and vice versa; and begged that, after he was gone, the reversals should be entered into the history of the court. President D'Souza's veto was based on a careful reading of the documents. "Anybody who admits he is crazy to vote that way deserves a monument," President D'Souza had said, simply, brandishing his pen as he wrote the veto.

The culture section of the *Times* revealed that the chief executive officer of *National Review* announced that he would grant entire editorial liberty to the *Washington Post*, which *National Review* had acquired last week. "I have full confidence," said NR President David Brooks, "in the editorial competence of *Washington Post* Editor Tricia Nixon Cox."

The culture pages were filled with accounts of books published, concerts given, of an exciting end to the annual high school I.Q. quiz, conducted in Carnegie Hall in Latin. One of the finalists had lost when she placed the Rolling Stones as a musical group that had performed in the 19th century. The winner had gotten it right (the 20th century).

The back page carried a further announcement from the White House. President D'Souza said he would recommend to Congress that it convene only every other year. "What needs to be done on the odd year can very well be done by the private sector," he had reported to a crowded press conference which greeted his announcement with a standing ovation.

Henry closed the paper and said to Ernestine that, really, he didn't think there was any reason for them to go to Switzerland on vacation. "What's Switzerland got that we don't have?"

Ernestine replied, "The Alps."

Henry said she was becoming shrewish, but he didn't mind. "*Everything* can't go right," he said.

M. E. Bradford

Because I have lived most of my life with a steady and certain horror of ideology, of the *idee fixe*, and the human costs of submitting to any "armed doctrine" concerning the "best possible regime," I am not a comfortable describer of political paradigms and dreams of "how things might be." It is the ancient delusion of despots and their apologists that, given a sufficiency of force (combined with the proper rationale), virtue may be compelled by action of the state—not merely reinforced where it stands, but created from scratch, infused by legislation, administration and judicial construction. This is the fantasy of Cromwell, Robespierre, and Mr. George Will. Though a perennial growth, it is unsupported by the evidence of history. And

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Cartoon by Shelly Fishman

even when the state does successfully mandate behavior, the new habits of compliance which it engenders will not survive the oppressive circumstances of their origination.

True virtue in the political sense is, as Aristotle observed, mostly habit. Unquestioned habit *qua* prescription is the extrinsic discipline of a healthy society. But it cannot be manufactured with such rapidity, or by any agency less powerful than the total cultural inertia, the "spiritual momentum," of the societies in which it appears. To introduce a definition of virtue or political right extrinsically conceived into a context where it has no historic roots is to guarantee that wherever such virtue or right is planted by arbitrary fiat, regardless of failure in preparation, it will in due course wither away. The images here are, as in Shakespeare's history plays, from agriculture and statecraft. In both contexts husbandry requires that something be known of the stubborn particularity of the soil before cultivation begins.

The Enlightenment passion for imposing some *a priori* dialectical construct on the recalcitrant social and political materials of a going regime is one which the Framers of our Constitution rejected out of hand, preferring instead to offer the people of the several states not a statement of general philosophical truth or a blueprint for reform but rather a pattern for preserving a known felicity. Quoting Plutarch's Solon, they presented to their countrymen "such a government" as they "will approve"—as opposed to the best they "could devise." For as the rhetorician knows, in most political discourse not all questions are open. To offer an argument from definition when only an argument from circumstances is appropriate is to reason like a Utopian—like the inhabitants of the flying island of Laputa in Book III of *Gulliver's Travels:* sages who hover over the distracted population of Balnibarbi, imposing upon these ordinary mortals the speculative schemes fostered in Laputa by deracination and a passion for generalization. Like Scipio in Cicero's *De re publica,* I insist that it is better for us to do as our Fathers did, refusing to think politically about some "fictitious" perfection without keeping in mind the merits of the Republic to which we belong and the necessities involved in preserving, even as we attempt to improve.

As a skeptic about ideal political arrangements, I have never denied the role of principle in the public life. The disposition of some of my fellow conservatives to disloyalty, duplicity, and betrayal—often rationalized by ideological appeals—has been a source of distress for me throughout the Reagan years. But for common commitments which would foster the preservation of what is best about our country I will offer only a short list: a hatred of tyranny; a preference for the rule of law over the rule of men; an opposition to the organized envy of all schemes for leveling, for engineered equality; and a disposition to measure all systems by the kind of men and women nurtured by them. These virtues, joined in a determination of my fellow conservatives to support one another, could bring me to a great rejoicing.

Terry Eastland

The ideal conservative state? That's an oxymoron, inasmuch as conservatism eschews utopias. Nonetheless, I offer this:

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The ideal conservative state would be conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. That, of course, is Lincoln's formulation, which fairly describes the theory of our nation at its founding. The political institutions of the ideal conservative state would protect liberty and at the same time place limits on what a free people may do, with those limits determined by morals and justice. That all men are created equal means, for obvious example, that one may not disadvantage or advantage someone on the basis of a morally irrelevant characteristic such as race. In the ideal state, we would be free, but not free to engage in "quotas," "goals," "set-asides," or more traditional forms of discrimination that favor certain races over others.

In his dying moments, Warren had confided that beginning in 1953, every time he had voted Yes, he had intended to vote No, and vice versa; and begged that, after he was gone, the reversals should be entered into the history of the court.

—William F. Buckley, Jr.

The ideal conservative state would not try to copy Puritan New England. Nor would it be indifferent to the character of its people. Liberty can become license; it can lead to an extreme individualism and moral relativism that poses dangers to the existence of liberty itself. The preservation of a free society requires a substantial degree of virtue in the people.

Fortunately, the idea of liberty includes the liberty to make the laws under which one lives. In the ideal conservative state, the people, tutored by a proper sense of right and wrong, would make laws that discourage and in some instances actually outlaw what is wrong. For example, the law would discourage abortion and, obviously, it would outlaw murder. In consequence of these standards in the law, people may indeed act more virtuously, choosing adoption rather than abortion, or to stay a homocidal impulse rather than pull the trigger.

In this indirect and limited (but still important) way the ideal conservative state would light the moral lamps that help guide a citizenry. Even this action, however, depends upon the character of the people (only a people that understands murder is wrong will enact laws forbidding it). And that is why the private sector remains ultimately important. The most important institutions of character formation—family, church, and school—are outside government (even public schools are quasi-private). Commerce can also teach industry, punctuality, and persistence. In the ideal conservative state, these institutions would be strong and secure in their sense of mission, and would contribute to the stock of virtue in a people that a state conceived in liberty cannot produce or impose, but which it so badly needs.

Daniel Oliver

Conservatives have traditionally defined the ideal state by what they don't like—and for a very good reason. What they don't like is government doing too much of this, too much of that. It seems to be a negative philosophy, one that claims the state has little power or wit to do good, or at least to do more good than harm in much of what it attempts.

But the state does have useful functions: protecting its citizens from enemies, foreign and domestic, is the obvious one—though not, it is safe to say judging from the behavior of Congress, sufficiently obvious. It should also provide sufficient economic regulations, health and safety regulations, and welfare, to ensure—well, something. Stoplights and mandatory medical procedures are, I suppose, interferences with our liberty, but not of the kind conservatives object to.

The conservatives' goal is said to be freedom—liberty—which includes license, but only in the sense that letting there be light presupposes there can be darkness without endorsing it.

But why should we be free? The man of God would say, to serve Him whose service is perfect freedom. Now it is not absolutely clear that He cannot be served in the Gulag—which raises the question, if one can be free in the Gulag, why on earth oppose the minimum wage? The question suggests that the freedom we most contemplate is a more secular one.

The answer, I think, is found in the Declaration of Independence. Our government is instituted (on earth, among men) to secure not liberty but the blessings of liberty. Liberty, too, like opposition to the minimum wage, turns out to be a way station on our journey toward the blessings. Those blessings are developing and using the talents we have (have been given) to serve: to build cathedrals, to discover vaccines and the relationship between E, and M and c, to hit home runs, to put bandaids on skinned knees—to be whatever it is that makes each of us special in His eyes which we can do only less perfectly if we are regimented, lock step, into the plans of the state. They don't write B Minor Masses in the Soviet Union—and it's not because of bad weather.

The ideal conservative state keeps interference with our lives to a minimum because that maximizes our freedom to be whatever it is we are intended to be. What is wrong with the minimum wage is not that it pays some people too much, but that it tends to deprive other people of getting any pay at all. What's wrong with the postal monopoly is not that it results in bad delivery service for letters. Letters don't have rights. People do. The point of repealing the postal monopoly status is to give citizens a freedom they do not now have: the freedom to contract with whomever they want for the delivery of letters. And so it goes for all economic, special interest regulations.

The challenge of welfare is three-fold: to provide an appropriate level of assistance, while keeping the taxpayer

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free from unnecessary burdens, and without stifling the creativity, or the responsibility, of the recipients. We want our children to be healthy enough, educated enough—well enough equipped—to be able to appreciate the B Minor Mass, and to find cures for children's diseases, a safe aphrodisiac (please hurry), and relief from the discomforts of old age. But it is not entirely clear how much, or even how or whether, assistance from the state is useful. The necessary conditions for some of those achievements may exist entirely within.

Where the line should be drawn in regard to providing subsistence welfare—between too little and too much—will always be difficult to say, especially if the minimum standard of living that our materially successful society is disposed to have recipients enjoy tends to be above the standard of living the recipients require for themselves.

The "something" we seek to ensure through health, safety, and economic regulations, and the varieties of welfare is an increase in the net freedom of the citizens, so they can achieve what they are intended to achieve.

Liberty and freedom are not absolutes, not yes-no conditions. The ideal conservative state tends always toward greater freedom. Will there be government aid for the arts in the ideal conservative state, or subsidies for farmers, or government bans on advertising, or voluntary restraint agreements, or aid to families with dependent children, or mandatory airbags, or . . . or . . . any of *those things?* Trying to answer that is like searching through books for the answers to life's questions: it's better just to read the books and then answer the questions yourself.

Joseph Sobran

"That government is best which governs least." So said Jefferson, an apostle of government. I take it he was not desiderating anarchy, but reminding us that all successful government relies as much as possible on social harmonies that are prior to any particular form of government.

Law is good; but the *enforcement* of law is a necessary evil. A law is (generally) good when most people are disposed to observe it out of moral habit; when they can be law-abiding, as we say, without having to be experts on legality.

A law or system of law that relies too much on a state apparatus of surveillance and enforcement—Prohibition, tax laws, or socialist proscriptions against "economic crimes" (which make capital offenses of what are normally free transactions)—is dubious.

Another way to put it: that government is best which *legislates* least. Aristotle said that laws should be few, and seldom changed, so that they can be universally known and respected. American social order, what's left of it, still owes more to the Ten Commandments than to the police, Congress, or even the Constitution.

The natural law tradition holds that positive law should be an imitation of a transcendent moral order. Any current disjunction between the laws on the books and the ordinary human sense of rightness and decency weakens the legitimacy of law, which is to say, the sense of obligation in the minds of the people the law applies to.

All of this suggests a tension between the principles of good government (which may exist under many forms, monarchic, republican, democratic, traditional, whatever) and the modern totalitarian project of "building a new society." The phrase is insane and, in practice, murderous.

As Bruno Leoni pointed out, modern parliamentary democracy has degenerated into a system by which the electoral victors impose their will on the losers. "Organized plunder" was Frederic Bastiat's term for it: politicians gaining office by bribing blocs of voters with promises of benefits. Our "budget crisis" is really a constitutional crisis, with old restraints on government yielding to the state's new powers to tax some for the benefit of others. Law, instead of being an impersonal and impartial restraint on the will of all, becomes the instrument of one party's will against the rest. The Framers of the Constitution referred to this state of affairs as "the evils of faction."

If one can be free in the Gulag, why on earth oppose the minimum wage? The question suggests that the freedom we most contemplate is a more secular one.

—Daniel Oliver

But we are used to this system. We even make the mistake of celebrating it, because it's so obviously preferable to the totalitarian alternative. Modern democracy, though corrupt, is relatively humane. It lacks the totalitarian ambition to build a new society.

Taken literally, that phrase means dictating total revisions in traditional social relations—abolishing not only property and its attendant inequalities (though this is always the first step), but religion and the family, too. Law becomes nothing more than the will of the rulers, at the service of their vision, with no back talk from the ruled.

The state assumes the complete supervision of the culture, and may undertake a program of mass reeducation or, where that is unfeasible, mass murder. Note that the word "program," so familiar in our politics, does not occur in the Constitution. It wasn't part of the classic republican idiom. Programs, planning, constant interference in everything—that's the totalist way. The state takes command of all the people's energies. Its principle is: that government is

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best which governs most. Children may be called on to inform against their parents, if building the new society requires it.

But totalitarianism never "works," in the sense of keeping its fantastic promises. (Though it "works" very well for its ruling circles.) To the extent that it remains viable, its functioning depends on the residue of the "old" society it professes to displace, the surviving immemorial moral habits of the people. Even the Soviet Union has had to come to terms with the remnants of religion and family affections and the profit motive itself. Even the most tyrannical regime depends on the very social harmonies it does violence to. By destroying them it would destroy itself.

There is no "ideal" society, and the conservative doesn't have to offer his own entry in the utopian competition. All he can do is submit that there is an optimal relation between the state and the moral culture: one in which rulers and ruled are bound by the same moral law, which cannot be changed to suit anyone's whim or private interest.

American social order, what's left of it, still owes more to the Ten Commandments than to the police, Congress, or even the Constitution.

—Joseph Sobran

A sound principle, that's all it is. It doesn't prevail everywhere, but all societies partake of it. Even the worst of them have to, in spite of themselves. That is how we know it should guide us as we go. It's what Aquinas, who believed monarchy to be the ideal form of rule, meant when he said, "All men are equal by nature." Jefferson agreed. He might have lived contentedly in Aquinas' kind of monarchy, as Aquinas might have in Jefferson's republic. But neither could have seen a home in a worker's paradise, where a Stalin's mood constitutes everyone else's obligation.

Phyllis Schlafly

A conservative utopia would be founded on the truth that individual rights come from God and that the purpose of government is to secure those rights.

In a conservative utopia, every man would have the opportunity to earn enough money to buy a home and enable his wife to be a full-time mother to their children. No laws or taxes would discriminate against the family or provide disincentives to the care of children by the family.

Federal taxes would consist of a flat 10 percent income tax, plus excise taxes. Of course, married couples would be able to file joint income tax returns with the recognition that a married couple consists of a husband and wife whose incomes are community property. Capital gains taxes would be only 5 percent. Low taxes would stimulate the private economy to produce enough jobs for all who want them.

The centerpiece of our national defense would be a space shield capable of shooting down at least 98 percent of incoming missiles from any source, deliberately or accidentally launched. This would give us 100 percent deterrence, and the Free World would be safe from Soviet aggression.

The Monroe Doctrine would be reaffirmed as a major and enduring feature of our foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine declares the fundamental difference between the American republic and Old World dictatorships, and forever forbids the Soviets or any Old World empires "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere."

Education would be locally controlled and locally financed. Every child would be provided with vouchers exchangeable for 12 years of schooling which could be cashed at any public, private secular, or private religious school of the parents' choice. Parents would have the opportunity to choose any public school within the school district of the child's residence. The result would be that some public schools would emphasize basic skills, some math and science, some languages, etc.

Choice and competition would produce better schools for all, and would prove within a couple of years that the phonics method is the superior way to teach children to read. Choice and competition would also prove within a couple of years that teaching sexual abstinence until marriage is practical and more successful than current courses that teach the social acceptance of promiscuity.

No child would be forced to attend any class, read any book, or participate in any lesson or psychological treatment which conflicts with his religion, morality, or family privacy. This would terminate the present practice of group therapy in the classroom conducted by unlicensed psychologists.

Children would not normally enter school until the age of seven, except for those handicapped and in need of special attention. The normal social pattern would be for children under seven to be cared for at home by their mothers.

Obscenity would be eliminated by vigorous enforcement of the laws prohibiting obscenity. Nonprosecutable pornography would become as socially unacceptable, and therefore as rarely available, as racist materials. It would be heavily taxed like other unhealthy commodities such as whiskey and tobacco.

The Supreme Court would not engage in legislation or policy-making, but would confine itself to its constitutional function of voiding only those laws that are clearly unconstitutional.

The monopoly power of the big television networks would be broken by making them subject to the Fairness Doctrine. When all points of view on controversial issues of public importance are fairly presented on the nightly television news, conservatives will have no difficulty electing and reelecting their candidates.

Life would be sacred in a conservative utopia. It would be illegal for anyone deliberately to take an innocent human life, whether by abortion, suicide, euthanasia, or any

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other way. The prime purpose of government is to protect life and liberty, and what could be a more important liberty than the right to life!

Paul Weyrich

Mr. Paul Weyrich, the last surviving "grandfather of conservatism," passed away last Wednesday in uncharacteristic peace at an age somewhere in excess of 102. His funeral drew a wide and distinguished attendance. Dr. Henry Hoffman, noted scholar on what had been known, before the Great Awakening of the 1990s, as "liberalism" and "conservatism," labeled the event, "the final passing of the time of greatest change in American history. The populist groundswell that, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, brought about the restoration of traditional values and culture not only in America but throughout the Western world was a true revolution. Few people today realize how much of that culture had been lost by the 1980s. Its recovery and its current flowering are really little short of miraculous."

The eulogy, delivered by Republican Party chairman Martin Luther King V, reviewed the tumultuous and ultimately brilliant era through which Mr. Weyrich lived. Dr. King said:

"We have now lived for decades secure from war in a world blessed by the *Pax Democratica*, the peace guaranteed by the democratic governments of America, Western and Central Europe, Russia, China, and Japan. Think of the changes just in Russia—the first, halting steps in the late 1980s, the then-daring proclamation of General Secretary Khorbitsky in 1992 that 'I am also a believer' and the restoration of the Russian church, the nationwide free elections in 1994, and the orderly transition to the current democratic constitutional monarchy. The tremendous flowering of traditional culture and of Christianity since the turn of the century has made Russia the West's acknowledged cultural leader and an inspiration to us all. I know the reunion of the Eastern and Western churches seven years ago was the high point of Paul Weyrich's life.

"Most Americans have grown up with the opportunities a high-growth economy offers—growth that has averaged better than 6 percent annually for over three decades. I hope we never forget why we restored our economic strength, why we were able to reindustrialize, to recapture world leadership in commerce and business, to become the world's laboratory in research and development. Certainly the consensus that began in the 1980s in favor of a free market economy—a worldwide consensus—was part of it.

"But the heart of it was the event from which we date all events: the Great Awakening. I speak of course of the great popular groundswell that ultimately involved virtually every American citizen, the rediscovery beginning in the 1980s of the absolute dependence of every free citizen on traditional Western values and culture.

"After decades of moral inertia or worse, Americans of all backgrounds, occupations, and beliefs came to realize two basic facts. First, America was in decline. Increasingly, nothing worked. Our kids were on dope, our products didn't sell, and our leaders—so called—were out to get rich at the country's expense.

"Second, we came to understand why nothing worked. It was because our traditional values and culture—the way Americans and other people of the West traditionally thought, lived, believed, and behaved—had vital functions. When we moved away from that culture, we lost the ability to function effectively. We endangered both of America's great achievements: liberty and prosperity.

"And so, led not by either political party initially, but by individual Americans coming together and working together, we recaptured that culture. We returned to our traditional Judeo-Christian values. We mandated no religious belief, but turned, each on the basis of his own faith or philosophy, to what we knew from experience worked. And—we found it would work again.

The eulogy, delivered by Republican Party chairman Martin Luther King V, reviewed the tumultuous and ultimately brilliant era through which Mr. Weyrich lived.

—Paul Weyrich

"Public policy was of course part of it. Public policy helped set new directions in education, both through the return to basics movement in the public schools and in the return to a classical education at the university level. Judicial reform not only helped clear our streets of crime but also got the courts out of the business of legislation. Welfare reform, and particularly the introduction of 'cultural welfare' where we coupled welfare payments with incentives to follow traditional values, was highly important.

"But more important than any of the changes in public policy, major as they were, were changes in the culture itself. The AIDS epidemic put an end to the 'sexual revolution,' but the Great Awakening transformed that end into a new beginning, the 'love revolution' based on marriage and friendship. Outlawing abortion did much less to stop it than the Great Awakening's creation of caring communities, in which people helped other people as individuals. Nowhere has the change been greater than in the black community, which transformed itself, during Paul Weyrich's lifetime, from an incipient underclass to the nation's leader in the spirituality that has been the Great Awakening's permanent gift to this nation. When Paul Weyrich was a young man, many Americans, white and black, feared black Americans. Now when any of us need help, our first impulse is to turn to a black person, especially to the American Volunteers, an organization created by blacks to offer person-to-person help to anyone who needs it. I am proud to say that over 90 percent of all young black Americans now serve at least one three-year tour with the Volunteers, and that most of the people the Vol-

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unteers help are white.

"I could go on for hours about the changes that Paul Weyrich saw in his lifetime. But in each, the root change was the same: a change from a cultureless state to a nation, a nation of which the state is only part, where the state stands for traditional Western culture but also stands in it, for that culture is now the guide we all follow in our daily lives and work. Indeed, what a transformation! As grateful as I am to live in a nation so transformed, I also envy those who saw it all happen, of whom Paul Weyrich was the last."

Think of the changes just in Russia—the first halting steps in the late 1980s, the then-daring proclamation of General Secretary Khorbitsky in 1992 that 'I am also a believer' and the restoration of the Russian church, the nationwide free elections in 1994, and the orderly transition to the current democratic constitutional monarchy.

—Paul Weyrich

The Requiem Divine Liturgy for Mr. Weyrich was sung in Holy Transfiguration Cathedral, McLean, Virginia. The interment will be in Racine, Wisconsin, the funeral party traveling from Chicago in the special car "Dolores" on the recently restored North Shore interurban railway.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Now here is a topic to conjure with, to spur the imagination, to evoke daring thoughts. Put the question to a United States Congressman or—if you can bear the smell of burning incense—a United States Senator, and the tendered utopia will be limited and unsurprising: residence in a large white house on Pennsylvania Avenue, with Filipino help lugging in the drinks (all free!), and scads of secretaries and other factotum barring access to the room the minute you nod off.

Put the question to William F. Buckley, Jr. and he would doubtless speak ardently of an eternal sail overhead, glossily varnished deck beneath one's sneakers, and Bach on one's Walkman always. Galbraith would . . . but there is no Galbraith anymore, is there? In fact, one of the unanticipated conditions creeping steadily upon our time is that there are very few personalities of the left or the right or the intelligent center worthy of note. In an age ravening for personality it is ceasing to exist even among its egotists. Why is it that as our communications wizards lust for characters to celebrate there are so few worthy of celebration or even of vituperation?

The question of a favorite utopia to which we might repair grows in exigency with every tick of the clock. The present is bland and stupid beyond the far limits of the tolerable. In place of Galbraith who have the liberals given us? In place of Buckley what bird of paradise will be hatched? Is there anyone around who is truly thoughtful or interesting for more than a season?

Phew, let us flee to a favored utopia. For me that would be the late 18th Century but with air conditioning and 20th Century medical corps. There, in the late 18th Century, with both feet firmly planted on the soil of my Virginia domain, and young American flag fluttering above, tobacco in the field, I would relish the freedom and never feel the insecurity of our present era. No Freudian shrinks would be necessary, for there would be hierarchies made tolerable by that deeply ingrained principle of deference; and if deference frayed and a squire's snooty ways did become oppressive off we could flee to life on the frontier.

For most of us, the 18th Century was a better time on practically all counts. The architecture was more pleasing, for it was effective and it made sense. So was the music and the literature. In the symphonies and the concerti of Mozart and Haydn one finds a grace and a sense of order that appeal to a longing both in the mind and in the soul. (I would be allowed a sufficient number of batteries to drive my compact disc player, else what kind of utopia have we?) Further, the debates about political philosophy were over things that really mattered, not as they are today about things that do not even exist, for instance: the rights of trees and animals and international terrorists. Which reminds me, in the 18th Century debates over political philosophy there was still time to do something about Locke's pernicious conception of rights. Possibly his ideas in this category could have been properly limited once and for all. More likely his writings in this area could have been gathered up and turned into confetti. Most of the bogus rights movements of our time look back to his injudiciously optimistic views of rights, and look where we are now: fanatics are propounding Pickwickian rights at the peril of those basic rights that the Founders added to our Constitution.

Yes, an air-conditioned 18th Century is my favorite utopia. And remember, despite the hooey of People for the American Way, many of the first 13 states had what amounted to established churches. That kept the religious impulse where it belongs, in church. Today the religious impulse throbs in our secular realm, fevering every reform, even many irreligious reforms. In the cool, sober, enlightened cerebrations of the 18th Century all such thwarted saints would be in church on Sunday, beholding angels, and infinitely less frustrated than they are today.

William J. Bennett

What would an ideal conservative state look like? The question makes me nervous. I'm not sure the conservative imagination should spend much time contemplating Utopia. Conservatism as I like it is not utopian. It begins not with theoretical worlds, but with a real society. It assesses

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human nature not as it might be, but as it is and always has been. And within these limits it relies, for its politics, on a government whose duty is to create a safe, good, and improving society. This government is not perfect. It does not try to be perfect, and is probably much the better for it.

Our Founders understood their task to be the establishment of just such a government. Theirs was a noble and principled enterprise. Hamilton said that the question suggested by our Constitution was nothing less than "whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice." He and his colleagues were thoughtful, creative men who sought a government designed to secure liberty.

But they were not fabulists or visionaries. The Federalists scorned men "far gone in Utopian speculation." "Have we not already seen enough of the fallacy and extravagance of those idle theories which have amused us with promises of an exemption from the imperfections, the weaknesses, and the evils incident to society in every shape?" Hamilton asked. "Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age and to adopt as a practical maxim for the direction of our political conduct that we . . . are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?"

So in our clear-eyed realism, modern conservatism operates very much in the spirit of Hamilton and the Founders. And the modern conservative presumption is in favor of the political institutions they created, not against them. But that is not to say that we are uninterested in progress—social, economic, or political. Quite the contrary: we are always interested in pursuing policies that will better reinforce and encourage the best of our people's common culture, qualities, habits, and values. President Carter, you will recall, ran for reelection promising a government "as good as the American people." The conservative task, on the other hand, is to establish a government that does more than merely hold up a mirror to current reality. Conservatives are after a government able to *improve* the conditions of life, a government fully worthy of the nation's respect and trust.

Let us flee to a favored utopia. For me that would be the late 18th Century but with air conditioning.
—R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Of course, conservatives will not always agree among themselves about how best to accomplish this goal. I am myself perhaps less likely than some other conservatives to reject strong central government in favor of a minimalist state. To support a strong and aggressive foreign policy in defense of Western freedoms, a powerful federal government seems to me indispensable. And I am not sure that Washington's efforts on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged must necessarily be as self-defeating as they apparently have been in the past.

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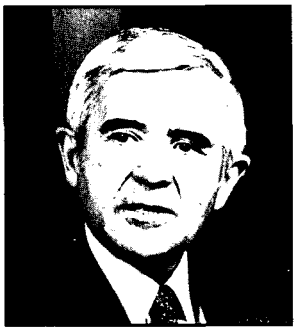

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